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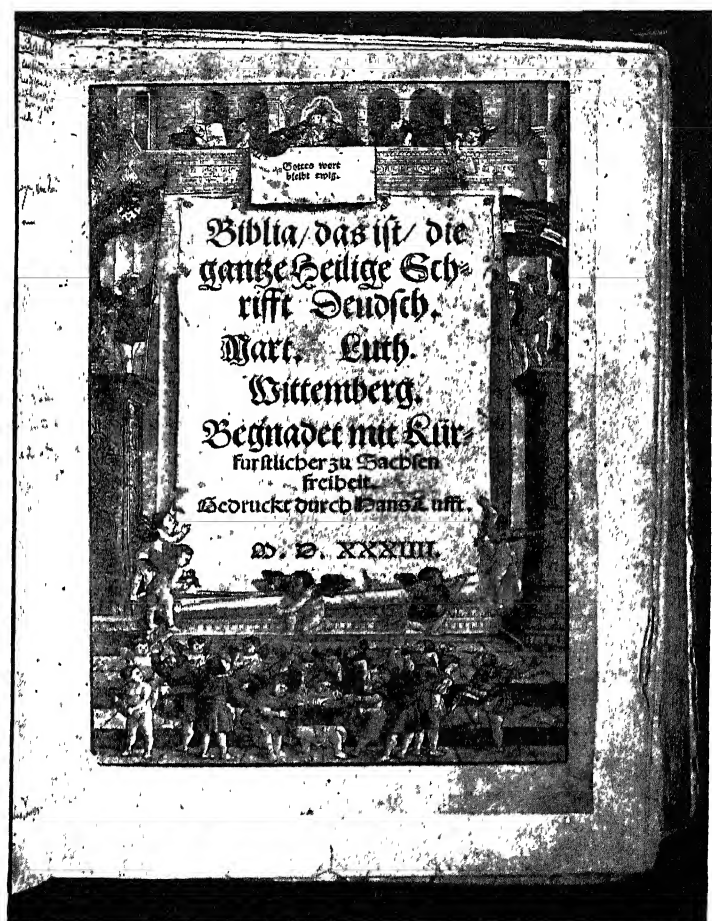


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THE TRANSLATED BIBLE



Luther's German Bible, 1534
Showing the Title Page (see p. 104)

The
TRANSLATED BIBLE
1534-1934

Commemorating
The Four Hundredth Anniversary
of the
TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE
by
MARTIN LUTHER

ISSUED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
The National Lutheran Council
O. M. NORLIE, *Editor*

Philadelphia : Pennsylvania
The United Lutheran Publication House

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MADE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

ONE of the treasured legacies of the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century is the "open Bible." The fundamental doctrine upon which Luther took his stand, that the Word of God is the final authority in all matters of faith and life, imposed the necessity upon him to render it into the vernacular of his people. Thirteen long years he toiled with his co-laborers in completing its translation, and thereby he really opened the Book and made it accessible to the common man as well as to the trained theologian. Stimulated by the example of Luther's translation and by the impetus which it gave to Bible study, scholars in other countries soon engaged in its translation into their native tongues. Consequently the appearance of Luther's Bible in 1534 is of momentous religious significance and marks the beginning of a development through which the Bible has been given to posterity in the language of the people.

It is therefore quite fitting that a special volume dealing with the various translations of the Bible and the activities of Bible Societies should appear in the quadricentenary year of the publication of Luther's Bible. The idea of issuing this information in book form grew out of the purpose of the National Lutheran Council to provide suitable material and facts for the proper observance of the quadricentennial celebration. Dr. O. M. Norlie, for many years associated with the National Lutheran Council, was selected to edit the book because of his eminent qualifications and wide experience. He has given painstaking effort and assiduous labor in gathering and assembling the data included in chapters XXI and XXII. In addition he also performed those duties usually incumbent on an editor-in-chief, such as outlining the book and securing the contributing authors.

The twenty contributing authors represent a typical cross-section of Lutheran scholarship in America. A glance at their names and the subjects on which they have written will indi-

cate that a manifold national background is represented in the authorship of this book which is typical of the multilingual character of the Lutheran Church. In spite of all the variable factors entering into the composition of the book there is a remarkable unity withal which is significant. What could be more appropriate in a book which treats of the translation of the Bible into many tongues than that its authors should reflect this fact in their national and linguistic origins? Like the Bible itself here is unity in diversity.

Much of the information contained in these pages is of permanent reference value and will supply desired material to pastors in preparation of special addresses and sermons on the Bible, and especially for the occasion of the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's Bible. There is a wealth of material available here, gathered from many sources, which makes "The Translated Bible" a ready compendium of reliable and interesting data on Bible translations. As such it will have an abiding value to all Bible lovers and students who are interested in the subject. It is doubtful whether a similar volume exists in the English language in which can be found the collection and classification of so many facts concerning Bible translations. As such it deserves a place in the library of all Protestant clergymen and interested laymen.

"The Translated Bible" is published not as a commercial enterprise but as a Christian service in the interest of a greater appreciation of the Bible itself. The Church owes a debt of gratitude to the authors for their generous co-operation without any pecuniary remuneration in making the book possible. For their unselfish devotion to this labor of love they will feel amply repaid, if the book is received and used in the same spirit in which their contributions are made.

*Ralph H. Long, D. D.,
Executive Director of the National Lutheran Council,
New York, N. Y.*

PREFACE

DR. MARTIN LUTHER devoted many years of his life to the translation of the Bible in order that the Bible might be made available to the common people in the language which they understood. The result of his labor carried forward through the co-operation of the members of the faculty of the University of Wittenberg was the Hans Lufft edition of the Dr. Martin Luther translation of the Bible, published at Wittenberg in August, 1534.

That the Lutheran Church of America has sufficient scholarship to produce a work of the character of the Anniversary Volume entitled "The Translated Bible," is indeed a matter of note and may be recorded as one of the outstanding events of 1934 in the Lutheran Church and in the religious world in general.

May the pages of this Anniversary Volume have an influence like unto the publication of the 1534 Martin Luther Bible, which reached a circulation of about 100,000 volumes.

May the pages of the Anniversary Volume create a new interest in the Bible itself that not alone this commemorative volume may be read, but many more editions of the Bible, in the now more than a thousand languages and dialects into which it has been translated since the pioneer work of Dr. Martin Luther.

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of the National Lutheran Council,
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CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF LUTHER

THE facts of Martin Luther's life have been told and retold endlessly. No other man in history has been investigated so often or so completely or from so many different points of view. Volumes have been written about his early life. His birth at Eisleben, November 10, 1483, of parents just emerging from the peasant-class and beginning the slow climb toward a higher economic and social position; his early training in a home where stern insistence upon the elementary virtues, especially obedience, was coupled with reverence for the Church and its teachings; his education in schools where the influence of the Church was dominant; his strong religious bent, shown even in boyhood, and not weakened by his experience of university-life;—all these things are too well known to call for repetition here.

The really significant part of his life begins with his entrance into the religious order of Augustinian Hermits, in 1505. His decision to desert the study of law and become a friar was taken suddenly and was the result of an inner crisis, the exact nature of which is difficult, if not impossible, to determine. It was brought on by the death of a fellow-student and a narrow escape of his own from death by lightning. It is impossible to believe that they were its causes. The probability is that these experiences broke down barriers that had been hindering a subconscious desire for the monastic life. The almost terrible earnestness with which he took hold of his religious duties and the steady persistence of the religious interest through all his after years would seem to indicate that this desire originated at a time far back of his "conversion." One thing about it all is certain; it was rooted in fear,—fear of a righteous God, fear of God's wrath against sin, and consequent fear of death. He says himself that he was moved to take the vows by "terrors from heaven."

With his entrance into the Augustinian order, Luther's life passed out of his own control. He worked at the tasks assigned him by his superiors. They set him very soon at the study of theology and destined him for a professorship, which was finally given him in 1512. Five years before that, he had been ordained to the priesthood.

Through all these years of preparation for a life-work, the motive that had taken him into the monastic life continued to operate. It was still the motive of fear, fear of God and His eternal judgment. He carried one question constantly upon his heart. "How shall I become righteous and get me a gracious God?" is the way that he afterwards stated it. He took that question into his daily living. He obeyed the rules; he fasted and prayed even beyond the requirements of the order; he did everything and omitted everything that he was taught to do and to omit in order to become righteous;—but his conscience was not at peace. He took the question into his studies. He sought the answer in the writings of the theologians, in William of Occam and Augustin; he sought it in the writings of the German mystics, in Tauler and the *German Theology*; he sought it in the Scriptures, to which his studies were more and more devoted.

For him the study of theology was not a mere absorption of vast amounts of erudition, but a search for something that he had not, and almost despaired of getting. It was a quest for assurance of his own salvation. "I knew a man," he wrote in 1518, "who asserted that he himself had often suffered the pains (of fear and horror) for very brief periods of time, to be sure; but they were so like hell that no tongue can tell them, no pen write them, and no man believe them, unless he has felt them, so that, if they were to last a half an hour, nay, a tenth of an hour, he would perish utterly. . . . At such moments the soul cannot believe that it can ever be redeemed, except it perceive that its punishment is not yet complete." So bitter and so desperate were the struggles through which this man was passing in his inner life, while he went about his daily duties and quietly pursued his studies.

It was in his studies that he finally gained peace of mind. He learned to understand Paul's Letter to the Romans, with its great conceptions of righteousness, grace, faith, and justification. He learned to think of the righteousness of God as a gift which God bestows upon all those who accept the gift in faith. The discovery was not a turning-point in his outer life. He was still the devout Augustinian, faithfully performing all the tasks that the order assigned him, still the student and teacher, saturated with the Church's tradition and preparing to pass it on to another generation. The change was in himself. He was carrying now a quiet mind, a conscience that would never again feel terror at the "righteousness of God." He did not see the gulf which his discovery would open between him and the Church.

It is significant, however, that from the year 1512, when he began his lectures as full professor at the University of Wittenberg, the subjects that he chose were Biblical. He did not lecture on the scholastic theology, but on the books of the Bible. The Psalms, Romans, Hebrews—these were the books on which he did his first teaching. He retained that practice through all the stormy years that followed and the last teaching of his life was a course of lectures on the book of Genesis. His earlier lectures show the influence of the scholastic method, with its continual appeal to the authority of the theologians, but they are interspersed with keen comments and occasional criticisms that show new and original insights into the religious values of the sacred books. After the Reformation began, the scholastic method was abandoned altogether, and his own interpretations were poured out in a continuous stream, with constant application to the events that were happening around him. He became the preacher in the lecture-room. Long before he even thought of translating them into German, he knew the Scriptures from end to end. He was saturated not only with their ideas, but with the language of the Latin Bible, and quoted it constantly from memory, with that freedom which comes from mastery of its contents.

The publication of the Ninety-five Theses of 1517 led to the breach between Luther and the Roman Church. They were

occasioned by the preaching of indulgences. An indulgence-letter was a certificate, issued by papal authority, which entitled its possessor to remission of penances, imposed after confession of sins. The particular indulgence that evoked the Theses was known as a "plenary." It offered remission of all such penances and its benefits could even be secured for souls in purgatory, insuring their immediate entrance into Paradise. It was given in return for a contribution to the building of the new St. Peter's church in Rome. Luther asserted that the preaching of this indulgence was contrary to Scripture, that it contradicted the teaching of the Church, and that it was perilous to men's souls, because it made them think that forgiveness of sin and eternal salvation were easy to obtain. The fact is that the Church had as yet no authoritative teaching about indulgences and that the preaching of Tetzel and his associates did actually make it appear that assurance of salvation could be bought for money. No reputable Catholic theologian will defend today the practice that Luther attacked, however strongly he may condemn the Theses.

It was to be expected that the Theses should cause a controversy. It was sharp and bitter, and it quickly included other matters beside the indulgences, especially the nature and the authority of the Church and the nature and purpose of the sacraments. These subjects could not be discussed, however, without discussing other matters also—the meaning of "grace," of "faith," of "righteousness," of "good works."

Luther attempted to treat all of these subjects on the basis of the Scriptures alone. At the beginning, he had sincerely believed that the opinion of the Church must be on his side, and that the false doctrines which he attacked were the irresponsible utterances of individual teachers. When he was undeceived and came to realize that the Church itself was against him, his views did not change. He simply repudiated the teaching of the Church and declared that the Scriptures were the only source from which to derive Christian truth. It was only a question of time until the Church would cast him out of its communion and try to suppress his teachings by force.

The excommunication actually came in 1520. But in the meantime, Luther's writings had been widely circulated. The printing-press was his greatest ally. He wrote incessantly, both in Latin and in German, and the printers were hungry for his work. It sold as fast as they could turn it out. His Latin works went into foreign countries and his German writings were read by multitudes of his own people. By 1521 he was not only a national, but an international figure. He was finding supporters everywhere, especially because he dealt not only with abstract doctrines, which only the few could understand, but with practical matters of Church-reform, which touched, in one way or another, the whole life of his people.

Perhaps the most dramatic moment of his whole career was the day when he stood, at Worms, before the Emperor Charles V, the papal legate, and the greatest princes of Germany assembled in the Diet, which was the German Parliament, and uttered his famous declaration—"Unless I am convinced by the Holy Scriptures or by plain reasoning, I cannot and will not recant anything. For my conscience is bound by the Word of God, and to act against conscience is neither wise nor safe." The Diet laid him under the ban of the Empire. From May, 1521, until his death in 1546, he was an outlaw, subject to arrest and imprisonment at the pleasure of the powers in Rome.

The fact that he was never arrested and went steadily on with his work for twenty-five years is an evidence of the foothold which his teaching had secured in Germany. As early as 1521, a small group of important princes had decided that his work should not be suppressed, no matter what the Diet had decreed. Chief among them was his own lord, Frederick of Saxony. It was Frederick who had him spirited away, while returning from Worms to Wittenberg, and secreted in his own castle, the Wartburg. During the ten months that he spent there, he completed the first draft of his German New Testament. After its publication, in September, 1522, he set to work on the longer and harder task of translating the Old Testament. He was determined that his people should have the Scriptures in their

own language. They were to be the judges between him and the Church that had put him out.

In the years that followed 1521 Luther developed the most prodigious intellectual activity that history records. He lectured regularly at the University of Wittenberg; he preached in the City-church; he conducted a voluminous correspondence; he helped to reorganize the churches in the territories where the new doctrines were tolerated; and a veritable flood of books and tracts flowed from his pen. One stands amazed at this enormous productivity. It is hard to realize that during all these years he was a chronic invalid, suffering from frequent attacks of renal calculus, one of the most painful maladies that medical science knows.

Not the smallest of the cares that Luther had to carry during these busy years were those that were caused by the radical reformers. They agreed with him in repudiating the Roman church and its teachings, but they did not agree with him concerning the meaning of Christianity and had what he called "another spirit." Luther was essentially a conservative. He believed that whatever exists does so by God's will; even the deepest wrongs and the worst evils exist by His permission. Therefore we dare not lightly change the things that are. We must test them all by the will of God, revealed in Christ; and that revelation must be sought only in the Scriptures. Only those things that plainly contradict this revelation are to be done away.

This fundamental conservatism set him against such a reformation of the Church as Zwingli had begun in Switzerland and against the more radical reforms advocated in Germany by such men as Thomas Münzer. When he learned, at the Wartburg, that a group of those radicals was causing trouble in Wittenberg, he left his place of security to come home and preach against them, declaring that the devil had invaded his flock. When the German peasants broke out into armed revolt, in 1525, he condemned them violently. As time went on, therefore, his battle for reform had to be fought on many fronts.

In 1525 he married. It was not a romantic marriage. Luther

was in his forty-second year, his bride in her twenty-eighth. They had known each other for two years, and Luther had twice tried to make matches for her with other and younger men. Catherine von Bora had been a nun. Along with eight others she had deserted her nunnery and come to Wittenberg to live. She was of good family, intelligent, and better educated than most women of the time. She bore Luther six children, and became the energetic and competent manager of a large and difficult household, always crowded with guests and more than once a hospital for victims of the plague. Luther was happier than he had ever been before, and his domestic happiness lasted to the end of his life, which was undoubtedly prolonged by her constant care.

The great constructive work of Luther's life was done before 1530. His convictions had matured and all of his great ideas had been expressed in literary form before that year. The Small Catechism of 1529 contains the gist of them. It is one of the greatest little books that ever came from a Christian pen, recalling Augustin's saying that "the truth is a river in which a child may wade and an elephant must swim." The later years of his life were given, in large measure, to the repetition of ideas that he had previously uttered and to their defence, on the right hand and the left; but as time went on, an ever larger part of his energy was claimed by practical affairs.

The acceptance of Luther's teachings necessitated a complete reorganization of the Church. This work was undertaken by the civil authorities,—the princes who had become Lutherans, the city councils, or other ruling bodies of self-governing communities. It had begun as early as 1523, and had progressed far by 1529. Between 1530 and 1540 the spread of Lutheranism was very rapid, and at the time of Luther's death, in 1546, it seemed as though the whole of Germany might soon become Lutheran territory. In the work of reorganization, which included the schools, as well as the churches, the rulers naturally sought the help of theologians. Luther himself had little active part in it outside of Electoral Saxony. It was men like Brenz and Amsdorf and, above all, Bugenhagen, who were engaged in

it. But Luther could not be merely an onlooker. His advice was sought from every quarter, by rulers and by theologians; and it was freely, often dictatorily, given. Advancing years and failing health brought no relief, but rather an increase in his burdens.

He died, at last, in February, 1546, not in his home at Wittenberg, but in the little town of Eisleben, where he had been born. He left behind him a record of achievement that has made him the best loved and the best hated, the most revered and the most denounced character in Christian history since the death of Paul.

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CHAPTER II

LUTHER AND THE BIBLE, ITS ORIGIN AND CONTENT

TRAVELERS to the land of Luther are impressed with the number of monuments erected there in his honor. Characteristic of them is the holding of a Bible clasped reverently in his arms. A statue of Luther without this feature would be an inadequate representation of the great reformer. It was to the Bible that he owed the resolution of his own religious struggles; upon it he based his work; to it he directed his followers as the only source of doctrine and infallible rule of faith and practice. Has Luther's attitude towards the Bible and his estimation of it been endorsed by the centuries since his time?

The name "Bible," the term used to designate that body of literature held sacred by the Christian Church, is nowhere found in the Book itself. Its first use is credited to Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople from 398 to 404. It is derived from the Greek word *biblia*, meaning "books." In time it came to be thought of as a Latin feminine, singular, meaning "book." This idea strengthened the conception of its unity of origin and aim.

The Bible refers to itself as "books" and "writings," more than a hundred times. The word "scripture" occurs but once in the Old Testament (Dan. 10: 21, A. V.). It is used twenty-three times in the New,—the plural form "scriptures" nineteen times—in referring to the Old Testament. Prominent among other titles are such phrases as "the word (or "words") of the Lord," or "of God," "my word," "thy word," "the word," "his word," "the word of truth," "the word of faith," "the word of life," "the word of Christ," aggregating in all many hundreds of occurrences. All these and other titles go to prove that the Bible claims for itself the distinction of being a unique Book, with divine authorship for its origin, revelation as the method of making itself known to man, and unquestioned compliance with its demands as its rightful due.

As to its structure, it may be thought of as a Divine Library of Sacred Law, History, Prophecy, Wisdom and Devotional Literature, in prose and poetic form, affording thus variety sufficient to meet every intellectual taste and spiritual need. The individual books are generally named either for their accredited authors or their subject matter. Some thirty authors are reckoned, writing over a period of about sixteen centuries. Throughout all the diversities of subject and style one purpose is discernible,—to foretell the coming, to prepare the way, and to record the life and teachings of the "Righteous One."

The Bible assumes, as the explanation of its origin, the existence of a personal God, and claims a revelation of Him to man, through nature and conscience, and through special and direct agency of "holy men," by means of visions, dreams and commands. At times the "word" received was not welcomed, felt to be a "burden" to the bearer, or to the hearer (Is. 13: 1; Jer. 1: 6; Jon. 1: 3). Sometimes the command was to speak only; again, also to write (Ex. 17: 14; 31: 18; 34: 28). Jeremiah clearly indicates his conviction that his message should be preserved for future times (Jer. 36: 27-32). To these claims of the Old Testament there should be added the testimonies of other sacred writers from the New, such as: "No prophecy ever came by the will of man; but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit (II Pet. 1: 21, R.V.);" and, "The sacred writings are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. Every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction (II Tim. 3: 15-16)." (See also, John 6: 63; Rom. 1: 16; Heb. 1: 1-2; 4: 12). Whether the claims put forth by the Scriptures to be inspired be based therefore upon their origin, their aim, or the work they accomplish, or because of their distinct spiritual nature as the "word of God," or "of faith," or "of truth," or "of life," their right to be considered a revelation of God, original and unique, should be respected and acknowledged by all men everywhere. The claims also made that they are clear enough to be understood and complete enough to accomplish their purpose should be con-

ceded as well founded and deserving of the accord and reverent attitude of all who may be invited to drink at their wellsprings and to walk in their light (Ps. 119: 105; John 20: 30-31; 21: 25; Rev. 22: 18-19).

To all these claims, Luther gave unqualified assent. The Bible was for him the source of spiritual life and light, yea, the only source. Called to Wittenberg as a teacher of philosophy, he came to think of this method of searching for truth as something to be discarded and despised. Reared a loyal son of the Church and the pope, he grew to deny the right of either to rule the individual conscience, or to determine doctrines for the believer. Two things for Luther forever remained sufficient and secure. They were God and His Word. This conviction became the challenging call of the Reformation:

"Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott;
Ein' gute Wehr und Waffen—
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Das Wort, sie sollen lassen stahn!"

Notwithstanding this primal and central place given to the Bible by Luther, he saw in it the human as well as the divine element. The higher criticism as such had not yet become an issue. Luther nevertheless entered its field by his questioning traditional dates and authorship, and by appraising the various books. He questioned the Mosaic authorship of parts of the Pentateuch, Solomonian origin of Ecclesiastes, declared Job an allegory, Kings "more to be believed than Chronicles," and Esther to be "without boots or spurs" as he himself was when "in the monastery."

His appraisal of some of the New Testament books seems also disturbing. Of Jude he says:—"He quotes sayings and stories found nowhere else." "Although I praise the book, it is an epistle that need not be counted among the chief books." "St. John's Gospel and his first epistle, St. Paul's epistles, especially Romans, Galatians and Ephesians and St. Peter's first epistle are the books that show you Christ and teach you all

that is good and necessary for you to know." "St. James is really an epistle of straw compared to them for it has nothing of the nature of the Gospel about it." It is "not the writing of any apostle." His reasons for this last statement are, in part, that the Epistle seems to ascribe righteousness to works, versus Paul, and "does not mention the Passion, the Resurrection, or the Spirit of Christ." He concludes his Preface to James as follows: "All of the genuinely sacred books agree in this that all of them preach Christ and deal with Him. That is the test to judge all books, when we see whether they deal with Christ or not, since all the Scriptures show us Christ (Rom. 3) and St. Paul will know nothing but Christ (I Cor. 15)." "What does not teach Christ is not apostolic, even though St. Peter or St. Paul taught it; again, what preaches Christ would be apostolic, even though Judas, Annas, Pilate and Herod did it" (Holman's Edition of Luther's Works, Vol. VI "Prefaces"; translations by Dr. C. M. Jacobs).

Of the Old Testament books, he had an especial fondness for Genesis and the Psalms, among these the Messianic, with their foreshadowing of Christ. For Luther and his theology, Christ was central. This secured, the Christian becomes a "most free man and servant of none." This Christocentric principle, applied to the New Testament books, could not fail to bring Romans and Galatians to the position they occupied in Luther's esteem. The latter was to him as his wife, the intimate guide of his efforts and the constant consolation of his heart.

Care must be taken not to misjudge Luther. Time and occasion may have softened his criticisms; but even so, he did not deny all good even to James. Doubting some traditional authorships and discounting some of the writings, he yet would permit all of the sixty-six books of the Protestant Bible to remain in it.

The centuries have approved much of Luther's discriminating opinions. The Bible still contains all the books he considered canonical. There are some persons who would not, in theory at least, make so great distinctions of value as he did; but in practice, many churches and many individuals in their

public or private worship today pay little attention to such books as do not "deal with Christ."

At Leipzig, in his debate with Dr. Eck (1519), Luther was led to deny final authority in matters of faith to tradition, councils and popes, and to place it in the Bible alone. Eck, recalling the statement of Augustine, "I should not believe the Gospel did not the authority of the Church lead me thereto," endeavored to prove that the Bible owed its origin to the Church, and was consequently of subordinate authority. Luther contended, on the contrary, that the Bible had brought the Church into existence, and was therefore superior in authority to it. This implied, of course, that the Bible must stand on its own original and inner authority, be judged on its own claims, its own power, its own internal harmony and aims. Luther had come to recognize all these through his own religious experience. For him the Bible was a revelation of Christ. In Him, he found forgiveness of sins, adoption into the family of God, and the peace that "passeth understanding."

Luther's refusal to accord the Church, as it then existed, the right to determine the contents and right interpretation of the Scriptures may seem to some in these days of assault upon them to have been an unfortunate attitude. Strong, unshaken walls of defense, however, are still about them, viz., first, the claim they make for themselves to be the inspired record of a God-given revelation; and second, the challenge they continue to offer to recover lost souls. "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul," is their unequivocal and eternal assertion. Those who can say, with one of old, "Thy word have I hid in my heart," find it both a preventive and corrective for sin. Other books may teach other truths. The Bible makes original and distinct claims to this. Its uniqueness consists in this. Whether, as we have it today, it is free from historical discrepancies; whether its science is to be considered eternally true, or only the views of men at the time the various books were written; to what degree it is inspired,—discussions on these and similar questions will continue in times to come. Meanwhile the Word, going forth from the mouth of God, will

accomplish that whereto He has sent it. It will prove itself able to do all that it claims to do. To some, as to Moody, it will establish its claim to be inspired for the reason, as he confessed, "It inspires me." Other possible tests will be urged; but, in the opinion of the writer, among the most satisfying to the disquieted soul, will be that criterion which sprang from the mind and heart of that great religious genius, Martin Luther, viz., that the "genuinely sacred books . . . preach Christ."

This subjective test Luther applied to both Testaments, but more especially to the New. Only a few of its writers record a call to preach and write in the manner received by the Old Testament prophets (Acts 22: 6-16; Rev. 1: 10-11). The former claimed to have received a call from Christ in person, to have been witnesses of Him, to have received a commission from Him as the Son and Revealer of God (I Pet. 1: 10-12; Heb. 1: 1-4). They found that their preaching of Christ won converts, even as His own had done. As the Church spread and dangers increased from false teachers and the ranks of those who had known Christ in the flesh were thinning, the same Spirit that had moved them to preach now led many of them to write (Luke 1: 1-4; John 20: 31; II Cor. 2: 4), believing, as John expresses, that the written message would carry the same convicting and converting power as the spoken one had done.

Paul had not known Christ in the flesh. He, however, claimed to have received a special revelation and defended his "gospel" on this ground against those who were preaching a "different gospel" (Gal. 1: 6-17). Peter accorded to Paul like "wisdom" and authority as he himself possessed (II Peter 3: 15-16).

Two tests, then, seem to have determined the right of any writing of the time of the early Church to be acknowledged inspired. It must come from one who knew Christ in the flesh, be "apostolic," and it must deal with Christ and His Gospel. These special requirements would explain in part why such works as the Epistles of Clement and Barnabas failed to establish themselves in the Church as inspired Scriptures; and

they also indicate why the Gospel of John cannot be thought of by us as originating in the second century, as the writing of one who did not know Christ in the flesh.

Having made the Bible the sole authority for faith and life, the Reformers were early compelled to answer the question as to its proper contents. The Hebrew Old Testament of thirty-nine books had been superseded in the early Church by that of the Septuagint which contained in addition the Apocryphal books. Should these remain as part of the Protestant Bible?

Already in 1520, Carlstadt, of the Wittenberg Faculty, writing on the question appealed to Luther for an opinion. Luther commits himself in his German Bible of 1534. The books appear in an appendix, with the explanation: "These are books which are not considered equal to the Sacred Scriptures, but which are yet good and useful to read."

Doubtless he was influenced much in his decision by the Jewish fathers in their refusing to give them place in the Hebrew Bible. One is inclined to believe, however, that his own subjective test counted more. They do not deal with Christ, and, therefore, could lay claim to no doctrinal value or canonical right.

The Protestant Church in general has followed the lead of Luther in this conviction, and naturally feels that it is incumbent upon those who have not done so to justify the retention of them as canonical. Their inferiority is easily sensed. Their doctrinal implications lack convincing power. And it may be asserted that any special teaching, such as that of guardian angels, or of prayers for the dead, to the extent that it rests upon any Apocryphal book for its authority, has naught but a foundation of sand.

What would Luther say to those "Gospels" and "Epistles," which form a New Testament Apocrypha, continually enlarging through archeological discovery, all dealing with Christ, some of them claiming Apostolic authorship? He might grant them a standing equal to that accorded the Old Testament Apocrypha. It is conceivable that he would not concede anything more to even a genuine Epistle of Paul, if such should

come to light, unless it contained some teaching not to be found in the New Testament. For the heart of his criterion is the principle of value, a need of the soul of man. A book to be inspired must convey a divinely given and necessary revelation of new truth, pointing to Christ, or preparing hearts to receive Him.

The Church could have had many Gospels from the beginning, as many such were written (Luke 1:1). Many more could have been written (John 21:25). John's own Gospel could have been much enlarged (John 20:30, 31). But his Spirit-moved impulse to write rested content when he had recorded as much as seemed necessary to enable man to "have life" in Christ's Name. Moreover, Jesus Himself endorsed this principle of value and need, even more clearly than Luther, or the disciple John. To Dives, pleading for a special revelation, that his brethren might be saved, Jesus gave the answer: "They have Moses and the prophets: let them hear them (Luke 16:31)."

In making the Bible the only rule of faith and practice, Luther rejected the authority of tradition and, consistently, gave to the writings of the Church Fathers, the Creeds, Hymns, and devotional literature a subordinate place. He belittled his own works and bewailed the ponderous volumes of his co-laborers as tending to obscure the Bible itself. All such for him were purely human productions, even though they dealt with Christ. For their origin no prophetic or Apostolic claim could be made to a direct and special inspiration of the Spirit, and their value, therefore, but secondary and derived.

We of today still face the questions that confronted Luther. The Apocrypha of the Old Testament is yet a part of the Bible of some Christian Churches. Others ascribe near-divine authority to certain traditional practices and creeds. There are those who would accord the Bible no inspiration different from the spirit which stirs the soul of the poet, the prophet, the preacher, when dealing with sacred truths. In the mind of some, the Scriptures need to be supplemented by a "Key," or a "Book of Mormon." The "Sacred Books of the East" have

won supporters to their claims to recognition as divinely revealed and inspired scriptures. Can the Bible maintain its unique position as wholly different and distinctively Divine, in the face of these ancient and modern challengers?

Let us once more apply Luther's criterion, based as it is on principles found in the Bible itself. † Sacred and religious writings which do not deal with Christ are not to be considered truly inspired.‡ Books that deal with Christ or point to Him, other than those contained in the Hebrew Old Testament and the New Testament, are also to be denied true Divine inspiration because their contents are derived, secondary, being neither new revelation nor necessary to salvation.‡ These principles conceded, he would endorse the claim that God especially chose certain holy men to be the recipients of His revelation, though not revealing all truth to every man who is holy, nor yet inspiring all of these to speak or write, for the instruction of later generations.)

Luther's position then seems well secured. His views of the origin and contents of the Bible, and the place it should occupy in our lives, are suited to our intellectual and spiritual needs. The Bible should surrender none of its present contents. It should admit no additions. It has been found true to all the purposes for which God gave it. It will forever bestow on the sincere seeker all the blessings for which He has preserved it.

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CHAPTER III

THE ORIGINAL BIBLE TEXT

THE statement that the Bible is verbally inspired refers, strictly speaking, to the original writings that came from Moses, the prophets, the evangelists and apostles. These original documents are no longer in existence; we possess copies only, in fact only copies of a long series of prior copies. While these copies have not been produced by inspiration, they are nevertheless copies of the inspired originals and in that sense retain inspiration.

The continual work of making new copies introduced flaws, despite all the care exercised to keep them out. We thus have "variant readings." God gave us His Word; gave it in the fixed form of writing; so that His Word should never be lost; yet already for the reading and understanding of the original writings, and then also for their multiplication and dissemination, God meant His people to use the minds and abilities He had given them. A huge amount of most devoted labor has thus been expended on the Scripture text merely as a written text. Until the art of printing was invented, all this work was done by hand with pen and ink, slowly copying the Old Testament Hebrew and Chaldean and the New Testament Greek. With this went the still more expert and important labor of keeping out and of eliminating errors from the text in copying it anew.

The result is that today we have the Hebrew and Greek text of the Bible in its integrity, reliable except only in minor points.

How reliable, the Word of Jesus regarding the Old Testament shows for His time: "Verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth shall pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the Law (Thorah) till all be fulfilled (Matt. 5: 18)." Jesus and the apostles quote the Old Testament any number of times, *verbatim* and in substance, without the least

question. God has preserved His Word intact textually through all the centuries.

The host of "variant readings" which an examination of the ancient manuscripts, versions and quotations has brought to light, perhaps 150,000 in number, alarms some simple-minded people. Analysis quickly dispels the alarm. It is seen at once that a very large proportion of these readings, say nineteen-twentieths, are of *no authority*, no one can suppose them to be genuine; nineteen-twentieths of the remainder are of *no importance* as affecting the sense. Of how much, or rather, of how little, importance, for the most part, the remainder are, can readily be seen by comparing the Revised Version of the New Testament (with the marginal notes) with the text of the Common Version, or by an examination of the various readings of the modern critical reprints of the Greek New Testament. The great number of various readings is simply the result of the extraordinary richness of our critical resources. Westcott and Hort remark with entire truth that "in the variety and fulness of the evidence on which it rests, the text of the New Testament stands absolutely and unapproachably among ancient prose-writings" (*Greek Testament* I, 561). This is the finding of Ezra Abbott. It applies in a still higher degree also to the Old Testament.

Dr. Warfield says: "The oft-repeated dictum of Bentley is still valid that 'the real text of the sacred writings is competently exact, nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost, choose as awkwardly as you will, choose the worst by design, out of the whole lump of readings.' Despite all this, the true scholar must be furnished rightly to discriminate in the matter of diverse readings." The simple fact that God gave His Word through so many writers, making the Bible so large a volume, insures the full preservation of every doctrine and moral precept.

The existing manuscripts of the Old Testament are not nearly as ancient as those of the New Testament. The reason is that the Jews destroyed worn copies, lest they be used for making new copies which would be faulty in the worn places. By far

the oldest manuscript of any part of the Bible is the Papyrus Nash of about 150 A. D., containing the Decalog and the *Shema* (Deut. 6: 4). Next comes the St. Petersburg codex of the later Prophets of 916 A. D. The oldest manuscript of the whole Old Testament is dated 1010 A. D. Kennicott collated about 630 manuscripts for his critical edition of the Hebrew Bible. M. De Rossi used 479 for his collection of Various Readings, besides 288 printed editions. Most of these manuscripts were written on vellum, and very few contain the whole Old Testament.

Of great help for the Old Testament are the Septuagint, the Jewish Greek translation of about 200 B. C.; the Aramaic Targums, the oldest that of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, second half of the second century; the *Peshitta* or old Syriac version, of about 150 A. D.; the early Latin translations, also Greek translations by Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotian.

One is amazed at the way the text was safeguarded by the Jews. They did not venture to change even the size of a letter. "We find essentially the same text which we possess, at the time of the Mishna, 200 A. D." (Raven). Great schools, at Babylon and at Tiberias (before 220 A. D.), devoted themselves to the work. The very letters were counted,—*aleph* occurs 42,377 times,—*tau* 59,343 times,—*mem* is most numerous 77,778 times. The middle verse of each book was marked, the middle letter of the Pentateuch, the middle clause of each book, etc., etc. If four errors were found on one page of a manuscript, it was destroyed. Much more might be said.

All this Jewish work, from the most ancient times on, was supplemented by the Christian, with the happy result that, despite the size of the Old Testament the uncertain readings are not nearly as many as one might expect.

The first printed text was that of the Psalter of 1477. The first whole Old Testament with points and accents, was finished at Soncino, February 14, 1488, reprinted in 1491-93 and in the Brescia Bible of 1494. Luther used the latter for his translation into German.

"The literary evidence to the text of the New Testament is

vastly more abundant than that to any other series of writing of like compass in the entire range of ancient letters. Of the sacred books of the Hebrew Bible there is no known copy antedating the tenth century A. D. Of Homer there is no complete copy earlier than the thirteenth century. Of Herodotus there is no manuscript earlier than the tenth century. Of Vergil but one copy is earlier than the fourth century, and but a fragment of all Cicero's writings is even as old as this. Of the New Testament, however, we have two splendid manuscripts of the fourth century, at least ten of the fifth, twenty-five of the sixth, and in all a total of more than 4,000 copies in whole or in part of the Greek New Testament. To these copies of the text itself may be added the very important and even more ancient evidence of the Versions of the New Testament in the Latin, Syriac and Coptic tongues, and the quotations and clear references to the New Testament readings found in the works of the early Church Fathers, as well as in the inscriptions and monumental data in Syria, Asia Minor, Africa, Italy and Greece, dating from the very age of the apostles and their immediate successors. It thus appears that the documents of the Christian faith are both so many and so widely scattered that these very facts, more than any others, have embarrassed the final determination of the text. Now, however, the science of textual criticism has so far advanced and the textual problems of the Greek Testament have been so well traversed that one may read the Christian writings with an assurance approximating certainty" (Chas. F. Sitterly).

About 4,000 old manuscripts, containing all or some part of the New Testament are known. Of these about 140, extending from the fourth to the tenth century, are called *uncial*, large hand script; the rest, *minuscule*, small hand script, often called less properly *cursive*, from the ninth century forward. The former are the more valuable, the main ones widely known by a simple letter designation: *Aleph*, the *Codex Sinaiticus*, fourth century, found in 1844 and 1859 by Tischendorf in the Convent of St. Catharine at the foot of Mt. Sinai, containing the whole New Testament, etc. The others are designated by

Latin capitals: A – B – B (2) – C – etc. A = *Codex Alexandrinus*, fifth century, supposed to have been written in Alexandria, Egypt, presented in 1627 to Charles I of England, now in the British Museum. B = *Codex Vaticanus*, fourth century, the oldest and best manuscript of the Greek New Testament, the chief treasure of the Vatican Library in Rome. We add: C = *Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus*, the greatest palimpsest, brought from the East in the sixteenth century, first to Italy, then to France. D = *Codex Bezae*, end of fifth century, Greek and Latin. W = *Codex Washingtoniensis*, possible fourth century, in the National Library (Smithsonian) at Washington, D. C.

The Minuscules are indicated by figures, 1 – 2 – etc. The early versions (translations) antedate even the Greek texts in our possession, and go back to the second century. It has well been said that it is providential that such translations were made at so early a date; for they rendered it almost if not altogether impossible to corrupt the New Testament writings. These translations made it impossible to delete sections, clauses, or even phrases from the Greek original. Some of them are slavish translations, clinging so closely to the Greek, yet having special value for that very reason.

The early Fathers, Origen, the Egyptian Bishop Hesychius and the Presbyter Lucian of Antioch, deserve mention for their work of purifying the text. Vastly more has been done in the last century. The name of Constantine Tischendorf rises above all others, C. R. Gregory finishing the eighth edition of the Tischendorf text and his *Prolegomena*. We add S. P. Tregelles, B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, omitting others of high merit.

The credit of first printing the Greek text belongs to Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo, Spain, who in the fifth volume of his great Polyglot Bible, printed at Alcala in Spain (the Complutensian Polyglot), issued the text in both Greek and Latin. Though printed by June 10, 1514, Pope Leo X withheld permission for publication till 1520, so that issue was not made until 1521. This enabled the publisher, Froben of Basel, to beat the Cardinal by issuing the Greek-Latin New Testament March 1, 1516, prepared by Erasmus and

in haste. Luther in 1521 used the second edition of Erasmus, published in 1519, for his German translation of the New Testament.

The so-called *textus receptus* dates from the year 1624. It was issued by the booksellers Bonaventura and Abraham Elzevir, and while offering essentially the text of Erasmus, obtained its name from the sentence in the second edition of 1633: *Textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptus, in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus*. This *textus receptus*, reprinted with slight changes in hundreds of editions, forms the basis of all the principal modern Protestant translations, prior to the last century. It is derived from a few late and inferior manuscripts plus the Complutensian Polyglot, and represents the infancy of textual criticism.

Great forward strides were made almost at once. De Colines used comparison of manuscripts (1523). Robert Stephanus and his son Henry compared fifteen, and made the division into verses (1551). Theodore Beza had Codex D, compared still more texts, also ancient versions; and was used by the English translators of our Common or Authorized Version in 1611. John Mill (1707), Bentley (1742), Bengel (1752), Wetstein (1754), also Griesbach (1812), advanced the work,—Bengel, notably, by refusing to count the text witnesses, and by weighing their value. The more ancient texts came to light, the more it was discovered that they divide into families, *i. e.*, great groups of texts inwardly related by origin, each text to be valued accordingly. Finally, in the last century came the wonderful advance with Tischendorf as the standard-bearer.

This blessed work still goes forward. The "Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture" (Gladstone) is the basis of our Christian Faith.

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CHAPTER IV

BIBLE CRITICISM

BIBLICAL Criticism, or the scientific study of the Bible, deals primarily with the human and historical aspects of the Holy Scriptures, and only indirectly with matters of faith. When honestly and reverently pursued, it is both legitimate and indispensable. The fact that all Scripture is inspired of God (2 Tim. 3: 16), and is, therefore, inherently authoritative for faith and practice, does not preclude the right of devout men to investigate the conditions and circumstances of its origin and transmission in human history. It rather invites and even necessitates a thorough examination of all available literary and historical evidence, in order that the eternal truths of revelation may be the more clearly discerned.

Like that of other literary remains, Biblical Criticism is usually classified under two heads: (1) Textual or Lower Criticism and (2) Higher or Historico-literary Criticism. The former deals strictly with the text of a writing, seeking to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the exact words of the original writer. The latter, approaching the subject at a point back of the text or higher up the stream of its development, endeavors to determine the authorship of the document in question, whether single or composite, the sources and methods employed in its production, and the conditions and circumstances under which it was written. The one has a sharply limited field of operation, in which it is possible to apply very definite principles of literary procedure; the other is broader in its scope, more subjective and, consequently, more illusive, often branching out into regions beyond the reach of exact science.

Textual Criticism was the earliest form of inquiry to be applied to the Scriptures. At first it embraced matters of Biblical Introduction as well as of text. Later, however, it yielded the former field largely to Higher Criticism, from which it became more and more differentiated. Owing to the

traditional notion that God protected the process of transmission as well as the truth of Scripture from corruption, and because of the vagaries of negative critics, both of these forms of investigation have won their right to recognition only very slowly. With the expansion of knowledge in modern times has come the general acceptance of Lower and, with certain reservations Higher Criticism, when properly applied, as justifiable and necessary approaches to the Bible.

If the original autographs had been preserved, the task of the textual criticism of the Bible would have been quite simple; in fact, practically unnecessary, as these documents would have supplied that which the science seeks, viz., the "*ipsissima verba*" of the writer. But since not a single original manuscript of any portion of Scripture has survived, and, furthermore, since hundreds of thousands of obvious variations from the original appear in the numerous extant copies, all of which are centuries removed from the time of writing, the process of reconstructing the text is very complex.

This process as applied to the Old Testament, first of all, has had a long history. In the second century A. D. the Jews adopted a standard Hebrew text, which is known as the text of the Sopherim. According to the evidence, this codex is the prototype upon which all later recensions have been based. So carefully and minutely was this work prepared that the religious authorities in Palestine resolved to destroy all variant codices. And for the accurate transmission of this text, they called into service the Masorites, or professional scribes, to whom they entrusted the task of copying, pronouncing and interpreting the text, and for whose guidance they prepared an elaborate system of rules. In the course of time these scribes added the system of vowel points and accents to the fixed consonantal text. However, by the tenth century so many alterations had been made in this text that a new standard codex was called forth. This revision, the work of the famous scribe, Ben Asher, is the parent of all Western Hebrew manuscripts.

Parallel with the work of the scribes, who at Tiberias prepared the Palestinian recension which Ben Asher revised, were

the labors of the Babylonian scribes on their Masoretic text, culminating about the same time in the standard codex of Ben Naphtali.

Owing primarily to the peculiar practice of Jews in burying their old manuscripts, no codices of the Hebrew Bible written before the tenth century are known to be in existence. The most important of the early printed editions is the so-called Bamberg Bible of 1524-5, which, since it represented the results of a careful comparison of manuscripts, has constituted the basis for all later critical editions.

The complicated process of reconstructing the Hebrew text, which involves the reversal of the genealogical development by which variations occurred, is a task still incomplete. The best edition now available is Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* with critical apparatus. Other reconstructions of the text of particular books of the Old Testament have been published in critical commentaries. The high regard in which the letter of Scripture was held through the early centuries accounts, in large measure, for the preservation of the text of the Hebrew Bible remarkably free from corruption.

For the determination of the text of the New Testament, scholars have had access to a far greater variety of copies, including (1) Greek Manuscripts, which are divided into (a) uncials and (b) cursives; (2) Ancient Versions, among which are the Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic and Armenian; (3) Patristic Quotations; and (4) Lectionaries. Owing to the vast number of extant documents and papyri, the task of comparison and emendation has been very laborious.

Although several critical editions of the New Testament appeared prior to his time, Bengel (1734), known as the father of modern Textual Criticism, first undertook the genealogical classification of manuscripts. Among the important editions of the Greek New Testament which have appeared in the past century are those of Lachmann (1842-50), Tischendorf (1869-72), the discoverer of *Codex Sinaiticus*, Westcott and Hort (1881), Nestle (1898) and Von Soden (1913). The list of scholars who have made large contributions to the Lower

Criticism of the New Testament in modern times includes also Scrivener, Gregory, Zahn, Lake and Milligan.

Four steps may be noted in the process employed by textual critics in their efforts to recover the exact wording of Scripture: (1) The study of each manuscript by itself for the purpose of removing obvious mistakes, both intentional and unintentional. (2) The comparison of manuscripts to which this process has been applied for the purpose of determining the ancestors or archetypes, by arranging the MSS in various groups according to resemblance in errors. (3) The comparison of the archetypes and the construction of a provisional text. (4) The conjectural emendation of the text as thus reconstructed.

The ultimate aim of criticism is to determine, not the text of the greatest number of manuscripts, since the multiplication of copies manifestly tends to increase the probability of error; nor the text of the oldest manuscript, for a fifth century codex, for example, may be a copy of a corrupt text of the same period, while one from the seventh century, in comparison, may depend directly upon a third century ancestor; nor even the oldest text, since the oldest texts we possess are far removed in point of time from the original; but rather the best possible text, the one which in every carefully analyzed detail reproduces the original.

After all, the present critical Hebrew and Greek texts, which exhibit the results achieved by the science of Textual Criticism through the centuries, and which scholars will continue to improve as new discoveries and achievements throw fresh light upon the Bible, represents, for all intents and purposes, the very words of the original. So important have been the contributions of this and related sciences in modern times that many new translations and commentaries have been called forth.

The Higher Criticism of the Bible, much of which has been negative and subversive of faith, began with an investigation of problems connected with the Old Testament. For the modern

development of this science, Spinoza, a Jewish philosopher of the seventeenth century, paved the way in his *Tractatus* (1670). Following him came Astruc, a French physician, who in his *Conjectures* (1753) gave direction to the inquiry concerning the structure of the Pentateuch by pointing out the fact that different names for God, *Elohim* and *Jehovah*, appear in different sections. Eichhorn (1773), who has been called "the founder of modern Biblical Criticism," discovered that, in addition to the distinction in the divine names, there were in the Pentateuch many other associated literary peculiarities. This observation led to the gradual crystallization of the critical theory of the existence of four major documents, J, E, D and P,—in the Pentateuch, or rather the Hexateuch, since Joshua, as was later noted, exhibits the same literary phenomena. Among the critics who contributed to this development were: De Wette, Vatke, Hupfeld, Graf and Kuenen. The hypothesis found full expression in Wellhausen, who applied the theory of literary and historical development to the whole of the Old Testament. Subsequent critics, classified into three groups, the advanced, mediating and conservative schools, elaborated upon the minute analyses of the different literary strata and the involved arguments respecting the dates of the documents, and applied the intricate methods of literary and historical criticism to every paragraph of the Old Testament and to every phase of Hebrew life. In opposition to this critical hypothesis stood such conservative scholars as Hengstenberg, Havernick, Keil, Delitzsch, Green and Orr, who succeeded in holding in check much of the destructive criticism.

During the nineteenth century the modern Higher Criticism of the New Testament, begun in the latter part of the eighteenth century (Reimarus, Lessing), subjected the whole of early Christian literature and history to minute investigation. At first it was negative, advancing so far as to deny the historicity of Christ (Strauss); later, however, it modified somewhat its conclusions. Bauer, the founder of the famous Tübingen School (1826-60), advanced the ambitious theory that the New

Testament was crystallized out of an involved Pauline-Petrine controversy, and that the separate books, for the most part, originated very late. His hypothesis also has since been exploded. One by one the Pauline Epistles, with a few exceptions, have been restored to the Apostle.

Among the many questions with which modern New Testament critics have grappled are: The Synoptic Problem, or that of the relation of the three Gospels, Matthew, Mark and Luke; the authorship and structure of the several New Testament books; the historicity, self-consciousness and claims of Christ; the origin of Paul's religion; and the Johannine Problem. The list of scholars who have labored in this field includes: Harnack, Holtzmann, Bacon, Bousset, Burton, Juelicher, B. Weiss, J. Weiss, Wrede, Weinle and Peake.

Although Biblical Criticism has broken down numerous cherished traditions, and has disturbed the faith of many souls, it has not been without positive results. The Bible stands out in clearer light today than ever before. No part of it has been, nor indeed can be, destroyed. As no other book in the world, it stands the test of rigorous scientific analysis. Critics may come and go, their hypotheses may hold the field for a time and then give place to new and more plausible theories; but the Bible remains as the revealed Word of God. Each year thousands of new volumes about the Bible appear from the presses of the world, bearing testimony to the singular power which the Book exerts in the lives of men everywhere. Let study and inquiry continue! Let scholars devote their lives to the investigation of the intricate problems of history and philology! Let critics reverently analyze every phase of Hebrew and Christian history and literature! All this enables the Bible to shine through the gloom of human ignorance and superstition more gloriously in its own immeasurable light.

The motive which prompted Martin Luther, the great reformer, to investigate the Scriptures was that he might discover and disseminate the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. This same motive, in the final analysis, should underlie all earnest inquiry

into Holy Writ. Our Lord Himself has said, "Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me (John 5: 39)."

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CHAPTER V

TRANSLATIONS AND REVISIONS

THE Word of God is for all peoples and all times. It possesses the truth about God and His relation to man and all of man's environment. The revelation of God which tells about man and his place in the universe, the way that God has gone in order to bring man to a saving knowledge of His grace toward all men was given to an historic people who spoke a language of their own. This language was not understood by others than themselves except it was laboriously learned.

In a long history, beginning with the origins of a people which became a nation with a unique heritage, the story of the touch of the Spirit of God upon the spirit of man is unfolded. It culminates in the coming of the Lord in the body of man to dwell among men, that His message of the father-love of God might be intimately given from divine source to human grasp. The message of divine love finds its deepest form in the death of the divine for the salvation of the human. The victory is the resurrection with all its implications for the saved soul of living eternally with God.

This deeply theological and beautifully philosophical knowledge of God was given in a manner so simple that the heart of man in its thirst and hunger for assurance could grasp it. The stubborn rebellion of man against God and the tragic consequences of sin are told in a way which arouses the conscience to turn in upon itself with a confession of guilt: "Against thee, thee only have I sinned."

The story is plain. "He who runs may read." The interpretation thereof lies in the power of every reader. The central thought of sin and grace touches every heart with its earnest appeal. There is depth enough to keep the theologian and the pastor or priest busy throughout a lifetime. The beauty of it opens the gates of heaven for the simple and the wise.

The interpretation is not for the initiated only. Rather far more is it for the humble who become pure in heart in their need for God. The Bible is written in the language of the people and for the people. The people is the everyday man.

The Word of God is for all peoples, not for one only. Though given to one people, the Hebrews, it is for every nation from east to west and from north to south. Each nation has its own language. The Hebrews had theirs, the Greeks and the Romans likewise.

The translation of the Word of God from Hebrew and Greek was a necessity inherent in the fact that it is the revelation of the way of salvation for all men. The Old Testament was written in Hebrew; the New in Greek, with portions of it probably in Aramaic.

The Bible was translated early into Latin. The Reformation under Luther said that it must not stop with the Latin, which had become the official language of the Western Church. It must go on. There must be a translation into German,—such German as the ordinary man could read and understand,—the language which was daily spoken.

Some nations spoke other languages. The English used their language and the French had the French language and so on for each group. The translations continued so that all the larger groups of people now possess the Bible in the language which each speaks. There are still many dialects and variations of languages of such individual character that the work of translating is unfinished.

The last one hundred and fifty years has shown a remarkable increase in the amount of work the Church has done to bring this common heritage of man to every corner of the earth. It is curious to see how the Spirit of God follows the spirit of man, or should we say leads on. At the time in the history of the world when the barriers between nations are being broken down, probably for economic and selfish reasons, the one thing which will bind the hearts of men together in one mankind is being brought to bear with its blessings for all. "The arm of God is not shortened so that it cannot save." Quietly but

surely the truth will prevail. More of the Bible in the hands of every man is the aim of translation. An abiding faith in the power of the Word to bring light into the darkness is the impulse back of translation of the Bible.

The translation of the Bible in the vernacular of every man was a basic principle of the Protestant Reformation and certainly not less of the Lutheran Church than of any other of the Protestant groups. An open Bible for all.

As it is fundamental that the Bible be translated, so it is equally important that the translation be as accurate as possible. To translate the Bible is a long and difficult task. The translator, or translators, as has been the case in most instances, must have thorough knowledge of the Hebrew language and also of Greek. He must know thoroughly the languages immediately related to Hebrew, such as, Aramaic and the Assyrian-Babylonian languages. He should be well versed in the history of the people and peoples of the Bible. Then equally, of course, he must know the language of the people for whom he is translating the Word of God. Since it is the Word of God that he is working with, he must be spiritually minded. In all instances he must be loyal to the truth without fear or favor. Evidently the good translator is a rare man,—patient and industrious, painstaking to the last degree, willing to give his life to a task.

As indicated above the task is found to be so difficult and important that the work becomes that of a group. The difficulties connected with the proper translation of obscure passages call for discussion. There will be differences of opinion and these differences should be carefully weighed from every side. Frequently the question of the best translation is not merely a matter of the meaning of single words, but is also one of the thought expressed in the original sentence and how best to put that thought into the words of another language.

Since the time when the first translations were made, many manuscripts of old translations or copies of still older manuscripts have come to light. We have none of the original manuscripts of our Bible. They all have been lost. But we have

authentic copies and the line of copies from one generation to the other is continuous, so we have the Bible in its true form. Yet there are minor variations and also mistranslations and errors in copying which have to be studied.

An almost unbelievable amount of scholarly care and investigation has been centered upon the many manuscripts in the endeavor to reach back to the original text. No book has had as much attention as the Bible, and no book from the ancient times is so well authenticated as this same book.

The Church must at all times be awake to the responsibility of keeping this heritage of the past. She must foster the devoted servants of the Lord to do this highly specialized work. The Word is not only to be preached, but it is also to be preserved. As the preaching of the Word is entrusted into the hands of men, so also the preservation.

In all the work that has thus been done much new material throwing light upon difficult passages in the original sources has been found. Questions as to which reading amongst variants is the more original have been answered. The old translations could be improved upon, especially with respect to accuracy and meaning. In English, for example, we had for centuries the Authorized Version, also known as the King James' Version. While scholars agree that from the point of view of beauty of language the Authorized Version can hardly be surpassed, and any revision would impair this beauty and mean a distinct cultural loss, still the fact remains that it was recognized that a revision was necessary. So we were given the Revised Version and that in two forms—the English Revised and the American Revised. In Norway the same need was felt so a group of scholars were busy for years to bring about the new version in Norwegian.

The fact that it was found necessary to issue both an English and an American Revised Bible points to another reason why revisions are necessary. The English of England and the English of America are in many phrases and words so different that the one is strange in the land of the other. Language is a living and a local thing. Changes come into a language both

by time and by surroundings. In Norway the differences of speaking in different places are very marked. The dialects are quite localized. Then, too, in that country they have the superimposed Danish and alongside of it the nationally developed speech of the people. Each calls for a version of its own. So within the small limits of Norway two distinct versions are necessary. It is so with variations in all lands.

A number of revisions and new translations into English have been offered in America during the last years in spite of the Revised Version. Evidently in the minds of the men responsible for these new versions there was a conviction that in one way or another the versions already at hand were not in every respect satisfactory. Some felt that the language of the existing versions was too far away from the English used in every day life. This feeling that the Word of God should be near to the hearts of the people is a true feeling and one which lies near to the thought of the Reformation. Though the presence of many versions causes some confusion, it is better that the Bible be kept vitally alive in its contact with the people than that it should gradually recede and become remote from daily life. Undoubtedly the closed Bible of the Church at the time of the Reformation was the result of a long and gradual tendency to venerate it as sacred,—too sacred for profane touch. Where there is a lively and searching interest in the Word of God, two tendencies will appear, one to preserve the original within our possession, and the other to give the Word into the hands of the people in the language of the day and life of the people who are to read it.

To return to the American Revised Bible. It is the result of many years of painstaking scholarly work. The result is not one man's work but that of a group of specialists who were in continuous conference with one another. To say that the result was as good as possible under the circumstances is not to say more than is deserved. Yet it is not a perfect product.

Many cling to the Authorized Version, preferring it over the Revised for several reasons. One reason is, that the beauty of the Authorized has won its way into the consciousness of the

people to such an extent that to change it would be felt by the people almost to be a sacrilege. Again, the ritual of the Church is formulated in the phraseology of the Authorized Version so that it is no simple matter to make a change. Among Lutherans this is especially the case in the older churches of the eastern section of the land. In the middle west and west these difficulties are not so great. The need for the revision is none the less there. A comparison of the two versions will make this evident. One difference between the east and the west is, that most of the Lutheran churches in the middle west and west have come recently into the use of the English language from German or Scandinavian languages. For them there was no tradition attached to the Authorized Version, so it was natural and easy to adopt the Revised Version at once.

In one instance the conviction is strong that the revisions erred, namely, when they substitute for the word Lord in the Authorized Version in those passages where the original Hebrew has the proper name of God the word "Jehovah." It is true that the original text has the proper noun, a word which the Jews out of veneration for the divine did not pronounce but always used instead the word "Lord." But it is equally certain that the pronunciation "Jehovah" never was the way in which the name for God sounded. Probably the way it was pronounced is "Yahveh." It would seem that it would have been fully as wise to accept the Jewish way of reading this divine name, as is done in the Authorized Version. At any rate there never was such a pronunciation as "Jehovah." We have now become accustomed to this word and in so far it does no harm. It would certainly disturb us in our reading to use the probably correct form.

The point to this in this discussion is, that it emphasizes a need felt by some at least for a revision.

Revision will always be necessary as long as a language is a living one and as long as nations live in history where changes in vocabulary and in ways of phrasing thoughts are constantly going on.

Again, then, emphasis must be placed upon the need for

scholars who devote themselves to the original languages of our Bible. The Church has a heritage and it must keep that heritage intact by cherishing the source.

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CHAPTER VI

THE EARLY VERSIONS

THE period included in this review extends from about 280 B. C. to the latter part of the fifteenth century. A somewhat complete history of each of the translations would require much more space than we have at our disposal here; but we shall devote as much space as possible to the more important translations and list the others with briefer comment. It will be noticed that a few tower as important landmarks. Because of their own excellence or because they have been generally accepted by the Church, or for both reasons, they have greatly influenced other translations as well as literature in general. Some, especially the Greek, Latin, and Syriac, have been used as "originals" for translations into other languages, and many others, foremost of which is Luther's translation, have served as models for subsequent translations.

Greek Versions

1. *The Septuagint.* The Septuagint, or Alexandrine Version, is the oldest known translation of the Bible. The name comes from the story, long ago discredited, that it was done by *seventy* (72, to be exact) translators from the twelve tribes of Israel. All we know is that the work was done in Alexandria, beginning at the time of Ptolemy II (about 280 B. C.), and it was no doubt continued until about 150 B. C., some say longer. The translation is from Hebrew into Greek and contains the whole Old Testament, including the Apocrypha. The work is very unevenly done. The Pentateuch is the best, while some of the Prophets are very inferior. The Christian Church never accepted the LXX translation of the Book of Daniel, but otherwise it was accepted. It is still the official text of the Greek Church.

2. *Other Greek Versions.* There were several Greek versions produced during the second century A. D., three of which were

important, although they never took the place of the Septuagint. They were: a) The Version of Aquila, conspicuous for its slavishly literal nature. It was used by the Jews but distrusted by the Christians. b) The Version of Theodotian. This was given a place in Origen's *Hexapla*, and was favorably received by the Christians but not by the Jews. Theodotian's translation of Daniel was generally substituted by the Christians for that of the Septuagint. c) The Version of Symmachus. It was the opposite of Aquila's, very free, in good Greek, but sometimes it failed to give the real meaning of the original. Jerome admired it.

Versions from the Septuagint

1. *The Old Latin*. This was referred to by Augustine as *Itala*, and has often been so called. We know almost nothing about its origin, but it is quite certain that it was complete at the close of the second century, also that it originated in Africa. It was rendered from the Septuagint of the Old Testament and from the Greek MSS. of the New Testament. It figured prominently in the establishment of the Biblical Canon. Jerome revised it, but the revised text was lost, and the old version remained in use until it was supplanted by the Vulgate. 2. *The Egyptian or Coptic Versions*. There were several of these, and each seems to have been made independently, and they are in different dialects. The most important versions are the Bohairic, or Memphite, using the dialect of Memphis and Alexandria, and the Sahidic, using the language of the upper Thebais. The former is preserved in its entirety and the latter in large fragments. Most if not all of these translations date back to the second century. 3. *Other translations in Egypt*. No less than four translations were made for the Christians and Jews in Abyssinia. The *Ethiopic* version was the first, and probably dates back to the fifth century. The *Falasha* is the Old Testament in Geez, the sacred language of North Abyssinia. The *Amharic* version is in the language that supplanted the Geez, and is of a much later date. The *Galla* version of St. Matthew's Gospel for South Abyssinia is also much later.

4. *The Gothic Version.* This dates from the fourth century and was done by Bishop Ulfilas in an alphabet devised by him. Ulfilas was of the Arian faith, but the translation has not suffered. Valuable fragments have been preserved in the beautiful *Codex Argenteus* kept in the archives of Upsala University. 5. *The Armenian Version.* The first Armenian translation was completed in 411 and was done by Mesrob, who used an alphabet invented by him. It was rendered from the Syriac version, and being recognized as very imperfect was revised first from the Syriac and then from the Septuagint as found in Origen's *Hexapla*. This version was adopted by the Armenian Church. The *Gregorian* version is kindred to the Armenian and dates from the sixth century. 6. *Syriac Versions.* In addition to the Peshitto, which was made from the Hebrew, there were other early Syriac translations from the Septuagint. There was a translation of the Psalter and the New Testament in the sixth century, and in the year 617 Paul, Bishop of Tella, issued a translation for the Monophysites. 7. *Other translations:* A Bohemian translation appeared in the ninth century, and in the fifteenth century there existed thirty-three manuscript versions of the whole Bible in this language. There were some *Arabic* translations from the Greek, some dating from the tenth century.

Versions Directly from the Hebrew

1. *Chaldee Versions, or Targums.* These versions were made to meet the demand of those Jews who after the Babylonian Captivity knew only the Chaldee or Aramaic language. The translations used had for a considerable time been oral. There are four important Targums: that of Onkelos (the Pentateuch), of Jonathan ben Uzziel (the Prophets), of Pseudo-Jonathan, and another of the Hagiographa. The Targums are, as the name implies, *paraphrases* rather than translations.

2. *The Syriac Versions.* One of the most important of the old versions is the Syriac Peshitto. It is the first translation of the Hebrew Scriptures made for and by Christians, and in importance ranks next to the Septuagint. It contains the whole

Bible except 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, Jude, and the Apocalypse which were rejected by the Syrian Church. The translation was begun in the second century and was complete in the fourth. In addition to the Peshitto there were other translations into Syriac, the most important being the Diatessaron of Tatian (New Testament) and the text found at Mount Sinai in 1892. The latter is thought to be very old.

3. *Arabic and other versions.* In the tenth century an Arabic version of the Hebrew Bible was made by Saadia ha Gaon. Several editions of this and revised texts have been printed by Protestant Bible Societies and also by Catholics.—The Carshuni Version is in Arabic but uses Syriac characters, and was made for Syrian Christians in Mesopotamia and adjacent territory.—A *Samaritan* version of the Pentateuch was made in the second century B. C. and is therefore the oldest next to the Septuagint.

4. *The Vulgate.* This is the most important of all translations from the Roman Catholic point of view. The Council of Trent declared it the authentic version of the Church. It is the great work of Jerome. While he was at work trying to revise the Old Latin, he became convinced that it was necessary to go back to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. He began his work 390 and finished it 405. For textual criticism it is of less value than the Septuagint and the Peshitto. But it is fairly accurate and has an elegant style. The fact that the Catholic Church declared it authentic removed the last doubt as to its value. Corruptions began to creep in at an early date, and many hands tried to revise the text. Among others Alcuin undertook and completed a revision at the request of Charlemagne (801).

Other Latin Versions. A translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Latin done by Cardinal Carton appeared about 1300. After the introduction of printing a large number of new translations or revisions in Latin appeared.

Translations from Various Sources

Italian Versions. The earliest versions of parts of the Scriptures were for liturgical purposes and home use. In the twelfth

and thirteenth centuries Italian versions of parts of the Bible were made available, and the Franciscan and Dominican Friars are given credit by the Catholics for most of the work. Perhaps the greatest credit should go to the Waldensians. A complete version of the Bible was made by Nicholas de Nardo in 1472.

French Versions. In the seventh century there were versions of the Psalms and the Apocalypse and a metrical translation of the Book of Kings. Several Bible histories appeared up to the fourteenth century. During this century there appeared the Bible of King John, the Good. The work was done by a number of Dominicans. A complete version of the Bible had appeared a century earlier. Another version based upon the latter is known as the Bible of Charles V. A much used version of the whole Bible was published in 1487 by Jean de Rely. It was called the Great Bible.

Spanish Versions. There are translations into Spanish going as far back as the twelfth century. Several MSS. of early Spanish translations, notably the so-called *Biblia Alfonsina*, are kept at the Escorial, Madrid.

Slavonic Versions. The first translation into any Slavonic dialect was perhaps made by Methodius and Cyril of Thessalonica in the ninth century. It was based on the Greek. The following century it found its way into Russia (from Bulgaria). A codex dating from the time of Vladimir (died 1008) has been preserved.

Scandinavian Versions. Translations of the Sunday Epistles and Gospels were made into Danish in the fourteenth century. The whole Bible, or nearly all of it, was published in 1470. In Sweden a translation is said to have been made in the time of St. Bridget (died 1373). On the basis of this a complete version was made in the fifteenth century. In Norway the historical books of the Old Testament were translated on the initiative of Haakon V in the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Reformation gave a new impetus to Bible translations, but all were based more or less directly upon the great translation of Luther.

German Versions. The oldest translations in Germany went back to the seventh and eighth centuries. Other translations appeared in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and a complete Bible appeared before the invention of printing. They are mostly based on the Vulgate and are written in various dialects. Luther had not yet given Germany a language for all.

English Versions. 1) *Anglo-Saxon.* The earliest translations known is that of Cædmon (died 680) who wrote some poetical paraphrases of parts of the Bible. In the beginning of the eighth century Aldhelm and Guthlac produced an interlinear translation of the Psalter. Venerable Bede (died 735) translated part of the Gospel of John. King Alfred (died 901) translated the Book of Exodus and the Psalter. The *Rushworth Gloss* is an interlinear translation of the Gospels. About the year 1000 Ælfric wrote paraphrases of the Pentateuch and many other books of the Old Testament. Other translations appear before the Norman Conquest, and after this event there appear Anglo-Norman MSS. of the Gospels. Between this period and Wyclif several paraphrases were made, usually metrical, of parts of the Bible. 2) *Wyclif.* Wyclif's own translation, which appeared in 1380, was done from the Latin Vulgate. The first part of the Bible, from Genesis to Baruch 3: 20, was translated by Nicholas de Hereford with the help of some French text, and the balance of the Old Testament, the Apocrypha and the whole New Testament is credited to Wyclif himself. This translation is distinguished for its robust and homely style. The peculiar strength of the Authorized Version is traced back to the influence of Wyclif. In 1388 there appeared a revision of Wyclif's translation done by Purvey, who uses a much smoother and more polished language.

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CHAPTER VII

THE PRINTING PRESS

MAN'S best means of expressing himself and communicating his thoughts, ideas, emotions and experiences is by the God-given faculty of speech. But in the course of generations, the spoken word loses its original form through constant repetitions, until the original thoughts and ideas which found expression in words, the reports of what were once great and important events, fade entirely into oblivion or are transmitted only in the form of myths, legends or folk-lore. Oral traditions are therefore unreliable.

In the dawn of civilization various tribes and nations invented and developed systems of writing to fix and give permanence to the fleeting sound of words. This they often did quite independently of one another. Laws and decrees, the names of great rulers and dynasties, records of historical events, as, for instance, victories in battle and conquests, were carved in stones, inscribed on clay tablets or taken down on other material. The Persians and Egyptians employed historiographers to write their chronicles, the annals of their empires. At the time of Abraham writing had become a quite common accomplishment. Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (Acts 7: 22) and heads a long line of historians, theologians, prophets, poets and philosophers who left to us the most remarkable literary collection of antiquity, the Old Testament, little dreaming that ages and centuries later their works would be translated into the various languages of the globe, reproduced and multiplied by new inventions into millions of copies, and distributed to and read by the God-seeking people of the world.

Multiplying manuscripts was resorted to very early in history. In ancient Greece and even more so in imperial Rome we find professional copyists, using papyrus or parchment as writing material. During the Golden Age of the Roman empire,

the possession of scrolls and books was considered a requisite of culture. Some of the wealthier bibliophiles employed as many as a hundred copyists at a time to increase the number of volumes in their libraries. Enterprising publishers used to engage fifty, one hundred, or more copyists, slaves and free-men, who wrote after dictation to produce a larger supply of some of the "best sellers." Publication houses in Rome traded in rare manuscripts and supplied the book markets in the various provinces particularly with works that could not be sold any longer in the city. The price of these books and scrolls, especially schoolbooks, was surprisingly cheap and there must have been an incredible number of them in circulation. The famous library of Alexandria contained 700,000 volumes.

At the time of Christ and the Apostles, literary interest was keen and quite general among the people. Thus in the providence of God, the world was prepared for the reception of the Gospel. The Greek translation of the Old Testament, the so-called Septuagint, was widely known and read, not only by Jews and proselytes, but even by God-seeking heathen (Cf. Acts 8: 26ff). The authors of the New Testament were familiar with this version. They were able to write in a remarkably good style, and in the newly founded congregations there were always some persons who could read and understand and appreciate and, if necessary, interpret their Epistles.

During the gradual decay of the Roman Empire in the so-called "Dark Ages," the practice of reading and the art of writing fell more and more into disuse and became the uncontested monopoly of the clergy. What we still have of classical works, both Greek and Latin, we owe to the patient industry of the monks who occupied themselves in the solitude of the cloister cell with copying books, and to the care of better educated priors and bishops who sometimes interested themselves in collecting and preserving valuable manuscripts. In that period there was no demand for, and no inducement to, mass production of literature.

The crusades broadened the mental horizon and revived the

interest in learning. New universities arose with a wider scope and a more diversified plan of instruction: Paris in the 12th century, Oxford in the 13th, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt in the 14th, Leipzig and Rostock in the beginning of the 15th century. Even laymen were now interested in reading. Some of them were even authors, and book-selling became once more a regular and profitable business. However, in contrast to the Golden Age of Roman literature, books were now expensive. Few could afford to buy them. Libraries containing as many as a hundred volumes were rare. Great scholars considered themselves fortunate when they could call ten or twenty books their own, and often they were glad if they could borrow a book to copy with their own hands. A thousand gold florins (\$1,500.00) were paid for a single Bible!

Now there was an ever growing demand for more and cheaper books, and this demand created the desire to supply the want, and this desire set men to thinking about some way of reproducing books quickly, cheaply and in large numbers. This finally led to the invention of the printing press and its successive improvements.

It seems strange that the idea had not come to anyone before, since the most important elements of this invention were known long ago. The Romans had the twenty-one letters of the alphabet painted individually on wooden blocks or cast in metal figures for the use of teaching children how to place them together in forming words (as the first reading exercises). Here we have the elementary idea of typesetting.

With the beginning of the 15th century, xylography or xylotypy came into use, at first only for the printing of playing-cards and pictures, sometimes with a brief text, the title, an explanation or a sentence, also for calendars, finally even for elaborately illustrated books. The procedure was as follows: The pictures and the lettering were carefully drawn and written on paper. This was glued upon a wooden tablet or block. Then the surface of the wood was cut away in all those parts on which nothing was traced, thus leaving the transcribed pictures and letters in "relief" and ready for printing. Now ink was

laid on and a sheet of paper carefully placed above it and finally a stiff brush or a leather ball, tightly filled with horse or calves' hair was passed over it to and fro several times with a proper degree of pressure. Thus the outlines of the pictures and letters were imprinted upon the paper. The men doing this work were even then called "Drucker" or "printers."

One of the most famous and beautiful books of this period is the "Biblia Pauperum," the Bible for the poor, *i. e.*, the monks who called themselves "pauperes Christi." It is a cycle of New Testament presentations from the birth of St. Mary to the Last Judgment with constant references to the Old Testament. The pictures are drawn after the window-paintings in the convent of Hirschau. The book contains 40 to 50 large sheets.

The chief handicap in this method of printing was that it required the cutting of new blocks of types for every page. It did not meet the demand of the time for the production of more and cheaper books.

It was left to the genius of Johannes Gutenberg of Mainz to combine the idea of typesetting and page printing and otherwise to improve and perfect the procedure. He is the real inventor of typography.

In the ancient world seven cities contended for the honor of being the birthplace of Homer, the immortal author of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey;" seventeen cities in Germany, The Netherlands and Italy claimed the honor of being the birthplace of book printing or typography. But if this is understood to imply the invention of a mechanical manufacture of movable metal types by casting or founding and the setting of them in forms and the invention of a press for the mechanical production of an indefinite number of perfectly similar copies, then the honor belongs undoubtedly to Mainz (Mentz, Mayence), a German city on the Rhine. Here Gutenberg succeeded in putting into practical operation his invention, formed and perfected after many years of experimentation.

For this purpose he entered into partnership with the rich burgher Johannes Fust who financed the undertaking and Peter

Schoeffer who proved a valuable acquisition because of his resourcefulness and mechanical skill. It was he who introduced the use of steel stencils to stamp out the matrices for the casting of type; he also greatly improved the form and beauty of the type faces and compounded a printer's ink adapted to the new process.

At the beginning, the machinery was naturally of a rather primitive and clumsy character. It resembled a screw-press with a contrivance for running the form of types under the point of pressure; force having been thus applied, the screw was relaxed and the form withdrawn leaving an impression of the type page on the paper. Still it was a vast improvement over the method employed up to this time.

The first publications coming from the printing establishment of Gutenberg & Co. were schoolbooks, especially the famous grammar of Aelius Donatus, and form letters of the indulgence granted for three years (1452-55) by Pope Nicholas V, for which there was a great demand.

But Gutenberg's ambition aspired to higher aims. What could be more worthy of the new invention than the publication of the Holy Scriptures. The enterprising firm did not shrink from so vast an undertaking. Two editions are ascribed to Gutenberg's printery at Mainz—the so-called 36-lined, and the 42-lined Bible. There has been some dispute among the writers of literary history as to which of the two was the first. It seems that at present most of the critics incline towards the conviction that the 36-lined Bible was the first. It contains 881 sheets or 1,762 double-columned pages. Spaces were left for large initials which at that time were not printed but drawn in and colored by hand. The 42-lined Bible is a two-volume folio book of 324 and 317 sheets respectively, in all 641 double-column sheets.

It seems that these undertakings did not at first prove successful financially, for in 1455 Fust instituted foreclosure proceedings against Gutenberg. Being a lawyer, he had drawn the articles of partnership in such a way that Gutenberg was entirely at his mercy. Suddenly he demanded the repayment

of the money advanced and invested in the printing business, 2,026 gold florins. Gutenberg being unable to meet this demand, lost all his property including almost the entire equipment of the printing plant, even the copies of the Bible which were completed and ready for sale. He did not, however, despair but succeeded in obtaining credit and continued to issue publications, the most important of which was the so-called "Catholicon," a book folio of 373 double-column sheets. He died about 1468, a highly respected courtier of Count Adolf of Nassau. His body was laid to rest in the Church of the Dominicans at Mainz, which was destroyed in 1793 during a bombardment by the French.

Gutenberg's former partners, Fust and Schoeffer (now Fust's son-in-law), continued the printing business, their most important publication being the "Biblia Sacra Latina" in two volumes of 242 and 239 two-column sheets respectively of 48 lines. But they were not to enjoy the fruits of Gutenberg's sacrifices and labors very long. Pope and Emperor had divested the Archbishop of Mainz, Dieter, of his office. The chapter of the cathedral elected in his place Count Adolf of Nassau, but the citizens sided with Dieter. In the night of October the 28th, 1462, Adolf took the city by storm. Hundreds were slain, others driven away and exiled. Many homes were devastated, also the printing house of Fust and Schoeffer, who had published a manifest against the Count. Within a few days Mainz was depopulated and despoiled of all privileges. Gutenberg's printery was spared because of his attitude toward Count Adolf, but he had to remove it from the city. He continued his business, however, at Eltville, the residence of his noble patron. Fust and Schoeffer retrieved their loss after a while and brought out some fine publications, but along with all other trades in Mainz printing had suffered a reverse from which it only slowly recovered.

In the meantime the disciples of Gutenberg's invention had begun to disperse into all the civilized countries of Europe, taking with them the art of book printing, and ever new plants sprang up wherever they went.

Space does not allow us to describe in detail the further advance of book printing during this period. It may suffice to note that at the close of the fifteenth century, or within fifty years, not less than 16,299 books had been printed in 208 different localities by 1,213 printing establishments which were also largely publishing firms. In Germany we find printing houses in Augsburg and Cologne (22 each), in Brixen (18), in Basel and Strassburg (17), in Nuremberg (13), in Vienna (2); we find them in Speyer, Esslingen, Lauingen, Merseburg, Ulm, Blaubeuren, Breslau, Burgdorf, Lübeck, Rostock, Würzburg, Memmingen, Munich, Erfurt, Passau, Magdeburg, Heidelberg, Regensburg, Stuttgart, Münster, Brunn, Schleswig and Hamburg, all before the year 1500. Also in Italy and France the printing business assumed large proportions. Venice had 199 printing plants, Milan 60, Bologna 43, Rome 41, Florence 37 and Pavia 34. In France, Paris heads the list with 87 printeries, Lyons had 48.

It goes without saying that book selling had to keep pace with book printing. Even though princes and city magistrates or wealthy book collectors generously donated funds for the production of beautiful volumes, the business had in general to be conducted on a paying basis. That required the employment of salesmen and the development of salesmanship. Peter Schoeffer of Mainz had branch establishments at Paris and Angers, and his business connections reached as far as Hungary and the Baltic provinces.

However, all this served only to prepare the way for the blessed work of Luther's Reformation. Book printing and book selling experienced a sudden and marvelous rise when the great question: "What must I do to inherit eternal life?" became once more the topic of the day, and when the answer to this question, as never before since the days of the Apostles, was found in and given from God's Own Word in the Bible. And as the Reformation called forth a tremendous "boom" or rush in book printing and selling, this again was one of the most important factors in the rapid spread of the reformation movement.

Latin Bibles had been printed in numerous editions ever since the first printed Bible, the so-called 36-lined one, had left Gutenberg's press. Also Bibles in the vernacular had appeared, German Bibles in Strassburg (1466), in Augsburg (1469), in Nuremberg (1471); Bibles in the low German dialect in Cologne (1480) and Lübeck (1494); but the translations were so poor that they were hardly intelligible, and the interest of the rank and file of the people was not yet sufficiently aroused. This was quickly and thoroughly changed by Luther's hammer strokes at Wittenberg, which awakened a dormant Christendom, by the challenge of his first tracts and pamphlets, by his heroic stand before the dignitaries of Church and state at Worms, and by his translation of the Word of God into a simple but beautiful German, first the New Testament and finally the complete Bible.

The time of the Reformation is the first "golden age" of book printing. The products of this period are noteworthy not merely for their rarity and historical interest, but many of them are masterpieces of the letter cutter's, book printer's, xylographer's and copper plate engraver's art. The greatest artists of the age, as for instance Dürer, Holbein and Cranach, did not consider it beneath their dignity to place their talents at the service of book making.

In the 16th century there is no place where book printing flourished more than in Wittenberg, the cradle of the Reformation. Here was the young university. Here men like Luther, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, Georg Major and others taught and preached and all of them were prolific writers.

The first book printer in the little town of Wittenberg was probably Hermann Trebelius who published the sermons of Peter of Ravenna in 1505. Melchior Lotther (1519-1525) printed several editions of Luther's translation of the New Testament and other writings of the great reformer. The matrices for the types used in these books he had personally procured from that famous printer and publisher Froben in Basel, a fact which Luther mentions with some show of

pleasure in his letters to Spalatin. Georg Rhau (1520-1548) was the first to print Luther's Large Catechism and his "Instruction concerning Confession and Absolution." Melanchthon intrusted him with the publication of most of his works. He also distinguished himself as an author, writing on theological and musical subjects. The greatest services of the art of book printing were devoted to the propagation and diffusion of the pure Gospel by Hans Lufft (1525-1584). His rather modest business experienced at once a marvelous expansion when Luther, in 1534, intrusted to him the printing of his German translation of the Bible. This work was followed in rapid succession by new editions (in 1541, 1545 and 1546). Since the great reformer had also his "House and Church Postille" (a book of sermons) and most of his other works printed by Hans Lufft, the business throve to an unusual degree, yielding the printer great profits so that he accumulated a considerable fortune. The printing of Bibles alone kept three or four presses constantly busy for many years. It has been computed that within fifteen years 100,000 Bibles left his printing shop. Hence the appellation: the Bible printer. Hans Weyss (1525-1539) became so favorably known by his printing of many of Luther's briefer writings that the elector Joachim II of Brandenburg called him to Berlin (1559) to edit the new Church Service Book for his country ("Kirchen Ordnung im Churfürstentum der Marken/ zu Brandenburg wie man sich/ beide mit der Leer und Cere—/ monien halten sol/ 1540"). He was given a general privilege for all books he might print and stayed in Berlin. Peter Seitz (1536-1549) is another printer who at this time gained an honorable name by his editions of the shorter works of Luther and other teachers in the University and added to the fame of his native town of Wittenberg. He was one of the few men who like Georg Rhau and Hans Lufft are known to have celebrated the centennial jubilee of the invention of book printing (in 1540). Johannes Krafft (1549-1577) also contributed to the success of the Reformation. He was a man of high culture and an intimate friend of Melanchthon whose works he printed and published

in truly magnificent editions after Georg Rhau's death. Other well known Wittenberger printers of this period are: Clemens Schleich, Lorenz Schwenk, Johann Goman, Lorenz Seuberlich, Zacharias Lehman, Zacharias Schuerer, Matthias Goetz, Hans Schwertel and Matthias Welack.

We cannot go into a detailed description of the progress book printing made in other countries and cities. In the northern part of Germany, in cities like Hamburg, Lübeck and Rostock, printing was handicapped by the fact that the High German, in which the Bible translation and other writings of Luther and his co-workers appeared and which had gained ground almost everywhere, remained a foreign idiom to the rank and file of the people, and publications in the Low German had a rather restricted market.

It is noteworthy that a translation of the New Testament into Wendish by Primas Tuber was printed from 1555-1560 at Tübingen and Reutlingen at the expense of Duke Christoph of Württemberg, one of the first New Testaments in any Slavic language.

William Tyndale's English translation of the New Testament was about to be printed in the establishment of Peter Quentel at Cologne when a zealous Roman priest, Cochlaeus, learned thereof. He forthwith obtained an order from the authorities to seize Tyndale, his secretary and all his books and manuscripts. They were, however, apprised of their danger in time and hastily collected their treasures, escaping to Worms. Here the first English New Testament of Tyndale's translation was printed in 1525. It was issued in an octavo format from the press of Peter Schoeffer, the younger son of the associate of Fust and Gutenberg. 3,000 copies were printed and these were immediately followed by an equal number of the quarto edition, the first sheets of which had been printed at Cologne.

In Switzerland, Christoph Froschauer developed a very creditable activity at Zurich. He printed and published about eighty works of Ulrich Zwingli. From 1524-1529 he brought out the first complete Swiss edition of the Holy Scriptures

and from that time on there was hardly a year in which a new edition of the Bible or parts thereof did not appear. He printed Bibles in German, Latin and English, the latter translated in 1535 by Coverdale. In his first German edition he used Luther's translation with the exception of the poetical and prophetic books of the Old Testament, which had already been translated by Swiss scholars.

In Denmark the introduction of the Reformation did not immediately bring about such a decisive turning point in the intellectual life of the nation as had been the case in Germany. King Christian II favored the endeavor of the humanists and the reformers, but during his troubled and bloody career he was not able to give them much assistance. The first Danish edition of the New Testament was printed in 1524 at Leipzig, Germany. Book printing was not far enough advanced in Denmark to supply the demand. The books had to be printed in Paris, Antwerp, Cologne, Lübeck, Magdeburg and Rostock. Here, in Rostock, one Ludwig Dietz published in 1533 (a year before Luther's Bible in High German appeared) a Low German Bible prepared by Bugenhagen. Dietz's name had such a good repute in Denmark that King Christian III, intending to get up a particularly beautiful edition of the Bible, called him to Copenhagen at the recommendation of Bugenhagen. In 1548 he and his helpers and his printing equipment were transported to the capital city of the kingdom at the expense of the crown. His salary was to be: Free living quarters, a load of wood, an advance of 200 Reichstaler and a florin for each copy of an edition of 3,000. The cost of the paper was defrayed by an apportionment of two Reichstaler on each church in Denmark. In June, 1550, the work was finished to the full satisfaction of the King, and Dietz returned to Rostock. Another German, Hans Stockelmann, was the first university printer (1574) in Denmark and enjoyed extraordinary privileges.

There has been a printing plant in Iceland at Holar since 1531, established at the behest of the last Catholic bishop, Jon Arason, by John Matthiasson, a Swede. When the bishop had become a victim to his conviction, Matthiasson turned

Lutheran, kept the printing plant and issued Evangelical literature.

In Sweden the first Bible in the vernacular was printed in 1541. A New Testament was published in the Finnish language in 1548. King Charles IX established a royal printing house in 1594.

Paul Grue introduced the art of printing to Upsala in 1510. King Gustave supported him by assigning to him the revenues of a manorial estate. Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Runic types were used here as early as the beginning of the 17th century.

Political disorders, wars and poverty brought the progress and development of book printing to a standstill. It took several centuries before it recovered and a new start could be made.

The art of printing made no advance during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The screw-press was still in use till along towards the end of the eighteenth century when the hand lever press, operated on the toggle-jointed bar principle, made its appearance, and presses were made of iron. But type was set and presses operated by hand till early in the nineteenth century. Even then we only have the gradual introduction of power presses, as folding was still done by hand until toward the end of the nineteenth century.

The invention of the folding attachment to the press in 1870 by two Englishmen, G. Duncan and W. A. Wilson, gave an impetus to the development of the power press. Up to that time the printed sheets had been delivered flat and had to be folded by hand. The most widely used two-revolution flatbed press was invented by Robert Miehle in 1883 and the first machine was installed in this country in 1888.

The Hoe type revolving press built by Robert Hoe in 1846 was the forerunner of the present rotary perfecting presses used in newspaper offices, the construction and use of which was furthered by the knowledge of how to make curved stereotype plates and the invention of the folding machine.

The modern job press for printing cards and small handbills owes its beginning to the treadle press built by S. P.

Ruggles, of Boston, in 1830, but is really based on the verticle type bed press built by George P. Gordon in 1856.

While presses were being developed to a very marked degree, type was still being set by hand. A mechanical type composing machine was patented in England in 1822 by Wm. Church of Boston, but this machine and others of similar character were of little practical use as the type still had to be distributed by hand.

Real progress was not made until Otmar Mergenthaler took out patents on his slug casting machine in 1885, now known as the Linotype. The first machine was put in use in 1886 in this country. At about the time the Linotype was placed on a successful basis, Talbert Lanston developed and perfected a type casting machine now widely used and known by his name. Other slug casting machines have also been perfected.

Printing has made its greatest strides in the last fifty years until it has become one of the major industries of the civilized world.

A chapter on the printing press in this volume would be incomplete without a brief history of the various Publication Boards of the Lutheran Church in America. It is evident that our Church has availed itself of the use of the printed word fully as much as, if not more than, any other Christian Communion in this country.

The oldest Lutheran general body was the General Synod, organized in 1820. Steps were taken in 1852 looking to the establishment of a publication society, and the Lutheran Publication Society was organized May 1, 1855, and approved by the General Synod in 1857. The headquarters of the Society were located in Philadelphia, Pa., where they remained until the formation of The United Lutheran Church in 1918. Nearly three hundred books and upwards of a hundred pamphlets were published by the Society, which also issued a large number of quarterlies and lesson leaves for the use of Sunday schools.

In the General Council a committee to prepare Sunday school literature was appointed in 1869, and the need of a

good Sunday school hymnal was brought to the attention of the Church Book Committee. Such a book was reported ready and on sale in 1870. A German Sunday school book was authorized in 1873, and a series of lesson helps for Sunday schools was issued in 1876. An official Committee on Publications came into being in 1882, and a Board of Publication was elected in 1891. The incorporation of the Board was not effected till January, 1898; but in the meantime the consolidation of three privately owned religious journals into the official church paper, "The Lutheran," had been effected, and the publication of a series of Lutheran Graded Sunday School Lessons had been undertaken. The headquarters of this Board was also located in Philadelphia where its business was continued until the merger of the General Council into the United Lutheran Church in 1918.

The United Synod of the South was interested in providing and circulating church literature from the time of its organization in 1886, but entrusted this activity to a standing Committee for a number of years. However, a Board of Publication was constituted in 1898. This Board was superseded by a Publishing Committee in 1906, the same year in which the official church paper, "The Lutheran Church Visitor," was established by the purchase and merger of two previously published periodicals. The Committee was replaced by a Publication Board in 1908, and this Board was incorporated in 1909. The headquarters was located in Columbia, South Carolina, where its operations as a Publication Board were continued until the formation of the United Lutheran Church. In addition to a Church hymnal and a Sunday school hymnal, a number of books and pamphlets were published by the Board.

On the organization of the United Lutheran Church in November, 1918, steps were taken to merge the publication interests of the three general bodies which it superseded and a new Board of Publication was elected at the organization convention. This Board was incorporated in Pennsylvania in January, 1919, when steps were initiated looking toward the merger of the three publication houses, which was effected in

June the same year with headquarters in Philadelphia, southern headquarters in Columbia, South Carolina, and branches in New York, Chicago and Pittsburgh. The New York branch has since been discontinued. At the time of the merger, the net assets of the Lutheran Publication Society totaled \$316,000, of the General Council Board, \$350,000, and of the Publication Board of the United Synod of the South, about \$40,000, a total of \$706,000. At the present time, 1934, the net assets of the new Board exceed a million and a half. Up to December 30th, 1933, the new Board had issued: new books, 1,010,202 copies; reprints, 2,568,015 copies; tracts and pamphlets, 4,308,100 copies. (Dr. Grant Hultberg is the manager.—Ed.)

In the Missouri Synod, Concordia Publishing House as a publication agency dates back to 1847. In 1849 it took more definite shape as a publicational institution. In 1867 or 1868 it was organized as a regular business and in 1869 a stock company authorized by the Missouri Synod took over the business. The official name "Concordia Verlag," seems to date back no farther than 1878, although even before 1878 it was known throughout the country as the publication center of the Missouri Synod. The incorporation was effected in 1890 at which time the present corporate name, Concordia Publishing House, was adopted.

Its original location was in one of the rooms of the old Concordia Seminary, subsequently one of the buildings of that institution. In 1874 it moved into a separate building erected for the purpose. To that building numerous additions were made in the course of years so that it now occupies the equivalent of a small city block on Jefferson, Miami and Indiana Avenues, St. Louis. The original investment was \$3,000 advanced by three members. From that nucleus and from additional stock subscriptions made from within the Synod and donated by the holders it has grown to a nominal capital stock of about \$196,000; actually about \$1,500,000.

Concordia Publishing House publishes twenty-eight separate periodicals and practically all the textbooks, hymn books, devotional books, etc., required by the 1,300,000 members of

the Missouri Synod. The affairs of the Concern were first managed by Old Trinity Lutheran Church, then by a loosely appointed Board of Directors through a general agent. The first manager of the institution was Mr. M. C. Barthel who was succeeded by Mr. Martin Tirmenstein. The present manager, Mr. Edmund Seuel, was elected March 18, 1907. Concordia Publishing House is governed by a Board of Directors of seven men who are elected by Synod.

The Lutheran Book Concern, the publishing house of the American Lutheran Church, was established in 1880 and is located at 55-59 East Main Street, Columbus, Ohio. It was started with a capital of \$300.00 and has developed into an institution which is now worth half a million dollars. It publishes church and Sunday school papers, both International and Graded Lesson Quarterlies, and specializes in juveniles, devotional and theological books. At the present time it is issuing a commentary on the New Testament, the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John being now available. The remaining books of the New Testament will follow in close succession. Rev. A. H. Dornbirer is the manager.

Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minn., incorporated in 1891, is owned and operated by the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. It represents two large mergers of Norwegian Lutheran church bodies. In 1908 it moved to the present spacious and centrally located four-story building, corner Fourth Street and Fifth Avenue, South. The assets are \$531,576.86 and the net capital investment, \$490,219.93. The house publishes "Lutheran Herald," "Lutheraneren," "Theological Forum," young people's and Sunday school papers. In the last few years it has published several notable books in the English language, among them four of Dr. O. Hallesby's books translated into English, also, "St. Olaf Choir Series," by Dr. F. Melius Christensen, which has had a wide appeal. The Christmas magazine "Jul i Vesterheimen" has for twenty years been one of the finest publications in the Scandinavian languages and during the last three years "Christmas," an annual magazine in English, has won national recognition.

In 1932 nine million copies of Christian literature were distributed. Present manager, Randolph E. Haugan; previous managers, A. M. Sundheim, 1917-1928; Erik Waldeland, 1890-1917.

Augustana Book Concern is the official publication house of the Augustana Synod. Founders of this body had organized a Publication Society in 1859 while they were yet members of the Northern Illinois Synod and a year before the Augustana Synod was founded. This Publication Society operated a publication house in Chicago until 1874, when it was disposed of to private interests. The Synod, however, came, in the course of years, to feel the need of an official publishing house, and at its meeting in June, 1889, elected a Publication Board, which in August of that year purchased a private business known as Augustana Book Concern, located at Rock Island, Illinois. The new Board was incorporated as the synodical publishing house in September, 1889, under the name of Lutheran Augustana Book Concern, which was in 1903 changed to Augustana Book Concern. The Swedish official church paper of the Synod "Augustana" was taken over by the new Board and has been continued ever since, and the Board has also published the official English organ "The Lutheran Companion" since 1896. Books published by the Board since 1889 comprise all classes of publications required by a church body like the Augustana Synod. In 1898 a temporary frame building was replaced by a permanent fireproof structure, costing \$23,000. In 1912 the plant was doubled in size by the erection of an annex costing \$30,000, giving a total floor space of 31,500 square feet. Synodical control is exercised through a Board of Directors and a Board of Christian Education and Literature constituted in 1924. The present net value of the plant is about \$330,000. The main office is located at Rock Island, Ill., with a branch office in Minneapolis, Minn., and a salesroom in Chicago, Ill. Mr. J. G. Youngquist is general manager.

The Northwestern Publishing House, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is the publication house of the Joint Wisconsin Synod of the Synodical Conference. It was incorporated in 1891 and has

occupied its present building at 935-937 North Fourth Street, Milwaukee since 1914. The present net worth of the Publishing House is \$186,000 with no liabilities. Two bi-weeklies, one in German and one in English, a quarterly and a monthly are published by this house. Julius Luening is the manager.

The Danish Lutheran Publishing House of the United Danish Church is located at Blair, Nebraska, and was founded 1893, beginning business in a room in the Trinity Seminary building. Later the business was moved to rented quarters downtown, and since 1898 it has occupied its own building in the present location. The first regular publications were "Boernebladet" and "Dansk Luthersk Kirkeblad," both in the Danish language. From 1899 to 1920 a Danish newspaper, "Danskeren," was published, which was then merged with "Dansk Luthersk Kirkeblad" into "Luthersk Ugeblad," the present official Danish organ of the Church. Besides an English church paper, "The Ansgar Lutheran," and two Sunday school papers, "The Little Lutheran" and "Boernevennen," are being published, the last named in conjunction with The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. The business was never separately incorporated but operates under a Board of five directors elected by the annual convention of The United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. Mr. K. P. Hundahl is manager.

The Finnish Lutheran Book Concern was established in 1890. It has not been separately incorporated, but it is a part of the Suomi Synod. The concern is located at Hancock, Michigan, and owns its building and printing and binding equipment. The property at the time the concern was established amounted to \$10,800.00. The concern has solicited for capital, sold capital stock, or solicited for operating funds. The business has been operated with borrowed money. At the present time, the property of the concern amounts to \$70,280.38, with a debt of \$3,200.00. The concern publishes four papers in the Finnish language, a tri-weekly newspaper, a religious monthly, a monthly for young people and a semi-monthly Sunday school paper. Further, a historical and religious Year Book is published annually as well as all the books which are used by the

Sunday schools of the Synod, and other literature. Mr. Emil Pesonen is the manager.

The Lutheran Literary Board of the Wartburg and German Nebraska Synods of the United Lutheran Church was incorporated in 1897 under the laws of the State of Illinois and under an Iowa charter in 1899. In 1902 there were added to this corporation the rights and privileges of the German Publication Society of Chicago, Ill. This firm for 25 years issued the "Lutherischer Zions-Bote" and published as long as the demand prevailed Sunday school literature with German-English texts. A number of parochial school books were published and are still being used in many schools. Books of apologetic character are a specialty of this house. The home office of the Board is at Burlington, Iowa, and Dr. R. Neumann is the manager.

*Grant Hultberg, D.C.L.,
Manager, The United Lutheran Publication House,
Philadelphia, Pa.*

*Carl Reinhold Tappert, D.D.,
Editor, "Lutherischer Herold,"
Philadelphia, Pa.*

CHAPTER VIII

GERMAN VERSIONS BEFORE 1534

THE earliest of the fourteen printed Bibles in High German appeared in the print shop of John Mentel at Strassburg in 1466. It is like all the medieval Bibles, a folio volume, and has 405 printed leaves of 61 lines each. This Bible was printed from a manuscript translation made about 1400 A. D. and now no longer extant. It is a notable fact, not frequently adverted to, that the German dialect in which the manuscript had been written was already obsolete in 1466. Wilhelm Walther remarks: "No one in 1466 would still speak or write the language which the First Bible took over from this manuscript."

A comparison of the fourteen complete pre-Lutheran Bibles entails an immense amount of research and has been a test for the critical ability of German specialists. The various editions have been compared almost word for word, with nearly unbelievable industry, and gradually a pedigree of these Bibles has been worked out. The method by which these results have been achieved is mainly a comparison of translators' and printers' errors. Chiefly through the work of Dr. Walther, the dates of the various Bibles which appeared before Luther's translation have been corrected by the application of this principle.

None of the early German Bibles were translations from the Hebrew or Greek. This may be illustrated by examples from nearly every page of these early prints. Furthermore, the translators had only a limited knowledge of Latin. Not only does Tertius in Rom. 16 appear as "der dritt," and Quartus as "der vierd,"—which might be crude, but still pardonable,—but the translator mistakes Ps. 67: 22, *deliciis* for *delictis* and translates it "in their lusts" instead of "in their transgressions." For *domatis* the translator substitutes *dogmatis*, Prov. 25, 24, and thinking of dogmaticians translates "of the teacher" instead of "of the roof." Whether *gratia* signifies "grace" or

"thanks," or is used as a preposition, the translator invariably translates it with "genad" so that we have the fearful combination in Titus 1: 11: "and the grace of filthy lucre"—"vnd die gnad des vnreinen gewins!" *Majores natu*, Ruth 4: 11, is translated not "the elder" but those who are "more of birth"—"die merern der geburt." Possibly the climax is reached in John 5: 2 where the Vulgate had misunderstood the Greek *probatikos* and had treated it as an adjective with the result *piscina probatica*. The translator now makes confusion worse confounded by deriving the latter from *probare* and translates it incontinently "ein bewerter schaffweyer"—a tested sheep fold, instead of "by the sheep market."

Considering then, that the original translation was at least 100 years old when it was given to the compositors in Mentel's print shop; that many printer's errors have been perpetuated from the first to the twelfth Bible (printed in 1490 which still retains e. g., in Ps. 39: 4 "Im Hertzen" for "Im Herren"); —and we have no real predecessor of Luther's Bible of 1534. Critical opinion is more and more ready to agree with Panzer and Nast that Luther did not use any of these Bibles for his own translation of the Old and New Testaments.

To this must be added the fact that the original manuscript, related to one now in Wolfenbuettel, contained many passages that had either been badly written or had become illegible by much handling, and thus made adequate composition very doubtful at best. But there were inherent in these early German translations certain weaknesses which are more intimately concerned with the spirit of the sacred writings than with matters of vocabulary and of grammar. No one who has compared a few pages of these medieval Bibles with Luther's translation can fail to note the monotony of their diction, produced by the slavish adherence of the German to the sequence of words in the Latin Vulgate. Of the spirit of the German language there is not an inkling. Laboriously the sentences drag their weary length verse after verse, often lost in obscurity, sometimes becoming utterly devoid of sense. The hymn of Moses and the Israelites, Ex. 15, was rendered not without rhetorical skill by

the Latin translator, but this is what the German made of it (Mentel 1466): 1. Do sang moysez und die suen israhel disen gesange dem herren: und sprachen: Wir singen dem herren wunsamklich, wann er ist gemichelicht: er warf in das mere daz rose und den aufsteiger. 2. Der herre ist mein stercke und mein lobe: und ist mir gemacht in behaltsam. Der ist mein got und ich wunniglich in got meins vaters: und ich derhoch in. 3. Der herr ist als ein streitper man. sein nam ist als gewaltig. 4. er warff in das meere die wegen pharaons, und sein here. Sein der welten fuersten die wurden gesenckt in dem roten mer: 5. Die abgrunde bedeckten sy. sy stigen ab in das abgrunde als der stein. 6. O herr dein zesem ist gemichelicht in der sterck: o herr dein zesem hat geslagen dein feint: 7. Du hast entzet mein widerwertigen in der menige deiner wunniglich. Du hast gesant dein zorn. der sy verwuest als die stopfeln. 8. und die waller seint gesament in dem geist deiner tabheit.

Here is a list of the fourteen complete Bibles printed before the Luther Bible of 1534:

1. 1466. At Strassburg. Published by John Mentel.
2. 1470. At Strassburg. Published by Heinrich Eggesteyn.
3. 1473. At Augsburg. Published by Jodocus Pflanzmann.
4. 1473. At Augsburg. Published by Guenther Zainer.
5. 1474. At Nuremberg. Published by Sensenschind.
6. 1477. At Augsburg. Published by Guenther Zainer.
7. 1477. At Augsburg. Published by A. Sorg.
8. 1480. At Augsburg. Published by A. Sorg.
9. 1483. At Nuremberg. Published by A. Koburger.
10. 1485. At Strassburg. Published by Johann Gruniger.
11. 1487. At Augsburg. Published by H. Schoensperger.
12. 1490. At Augsburg. Published by H. Schoensperger.
13. 1507. At Augsburg. Published by H. Otmar.
14. 1518. At Augsburg. Published by H. Otmar.

In addition, there are four printed Bibles in some Low German dialect:

1. 1480. At Cologne. Published by H. Quentell.
2. 1480. At Cologne. Published by H. Quentell.

3. 1494. At Lübeck. Published by Arndes.

4. 1522. At Halberstadt. Published by Trutebul (?).

The Psalms were published in 1473 in High German at Strassburg.

The Psalms were published in 1474 in Low German in Lübeck.

The Psalms were published in 1494 in High German in Strassburg.

Surveying the localities in which these various prints originated, it is certainly significant that none of the cities were the seat of a bishopric. Not one was printed in Mayence, an archdiocese, which was then the most active publication center. The cities are all free-towns, a fact which has been quoted in support of the theory that the pre-Lutheran printed Bible was a laymen's undertaking. Nor shall we overlook the fact that after 1485 the number of imprints diminish greatly—only Augsburg is represented with four editions in 21 years, while ten editions were published in the previous 19. Observe that in 1485 the archbishop of Mayence, primate of Germany and an intimate friend of the emperor, issued his edict prescribing censorship for all translations of the Bible. Any printer who cared for the good graces of the all-powerful clergy would think twice before engaging in so unpopular an undertaking. The Roman Church certainly cannot claim the credit for the German Bibles before Luther. This is often done. For instance, the Rev. Alfred Young, C.S.P., in his "Catholic and Protestant Countries Compared," page 336, says: "There were more than seventy different editions of the Bible, in the different languages of the nations of Europe, printed before Luther's Bible was put forth. The library of the Paulist Fathers of New York contains a copy of the ninth edition of the Bible in High German, profusely illustrated with colored wood engravings, and printed by Antonius Coburger at Nuremberg in 1483, the very year in which Luther was born." The question is not whether translations of the Bible were made before the "age of Luther," but whether this movement was fostered by the Roman Catholic Church. Now, the restrictions placed upon the

publication of texts in the vernacular by Berthold of Mayence was a general prohibition of the publication of the German Bible, and the German translation of devotional books in general, unless approved by certain commissioners, because "the German language was not flexible and rich enough to render faithfully the deep thoughts expressed in the Latin and Greek, and because the common people were not able to understand the meaning of the Holy Scriptures."

Another section from the edict of the archbishop is worth translating here: "We have observed books containing the office of the mass and also containing divine things and lofty matters of our religion and translated from Latin into the German language, not without damage to religion, circulating among the hands of the vulgar . . . for who will give to the ignorant (*idiotis*) and unlettered persons, and to the female sex at that, into whose hands the manuscripts of sacred learning should fall, the ability to find the true sense? No sane person would deny that the texts of the Holy Gospels and of the Epistles of Paul require many additions and explanations from other writings."

Since the printed German Bible only contained the text but not the interpretations of the fathers, an edict of this kind would certainly cause a church-minded printer to consider whether the printing of such a Bible would be in harmony with the opinion of his ghostly superiors. Now this is what happened. The Tenth Bible (Strassburg, 1485) does not contain the name of the printer, although it is a reprint of the ninth Bible and contains the same concluding notice of the printer as this. While the ninth Bible closes with the printer's name, the tenth omits it. A German book of Psalms printed by the same publisher (Grueninger) does not even contain a reference to date and place of publication. The closing note of the Tenth Bible says that the printing was completed May 2, 1485. The archbishop of Mayence issued his edict about six weeks previously (March 22). Evidently the printing required so large an investment that the job had to be completed if Grueninger was not to suffer very considerable loss. So the

Bible was issued—but in deference to the attitude of the authorities, without the printer's name! Berthold issued a second edict much like the first, in 1486. It was ignored by the two Augsburg printers, Schoensperger and Otmar, (Bibles 11 to 14), and it is a notable fact that these Augsburg publishers became very active printers and distributors of Luther's works.

Who were the authors of the translations into German which appeared before Luther? Even the most painstaking research of German scholars has failed to disclose the names of the translator whose work was used by Mentel. So much appears to be certain—the entire First German Bible, with the exception only of the close of the Minor Prophets and of the Books of Maccabbees, is the work of one translator. The dialect of the *Codex Teplensis* has been investigated by Wilhelm Weiss who has established that the original represents the language in use about 1400 in the country south of Prague, and that the codex contains the marks of the Saxon-Bohemian dialect in some of its emendations. The fact that these early translations have been traced to Bohemia permits at least the guess that the interest in vernacular Bibles may have been the outgrowth of the Wyclifite-Hussite movement. The opinion held by most of the earlier investigators, viz., that the Waldensian movement gave the vernacular Bible to the Germans, is no longer regarded as susceptible of proof. Wilhelm Walther has many pages of elaborate argumentation against this view.

There are more than 50 manuscripts of medieval German Bibles in existence. A large number of these, however, represents handmade copies of the printed Bibles. This is significant as indicating the costliness of printed books in the 15th century. It actually was worth the time of a cleric to copy out by hand laboriously the printed text before him. The original manuscript from which the first German Bible was set into type no longer exists. Manuscripts in Wolfenbuettel, Nuremberg and Freiberg represent a text very close to that used by Mentel. It is interesting to note at first hand the motives which would cause a scholar to attack the job of translating the Bible. The Nuremberg manuscript contains some biographical notes of

the translator, John Rellach by name. Rellach had visited Rome and there heard an Eastern prelate in a sermon describe the taking of Constantinople by the Turks and the destruction of the splendid library, in which the Bible had been represented by translations into many languages. After hearing this address, the clerics and students met for a very serious discussion and Rellach declared then and there his purpose to translate the Bible into German: "So woellen wir cristen die latinischer buecher zu tuetsch machen." Thus the lay people would be strengthened in their Christian faith. On the fourth of January, 1451, he began the work of translating and we are not surprised to note that he calls it a "grosses schwaeres werck." Whether Rellach received aid from others, (his translation only of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth has survived), is not certain, but he refers to the fact that also in Strassburg, Basel, Spire and Worms, scholars had begun to translate the Bible. His own home was in the diocese of Constance. Significant is the following memorandum in his introduction to Judges. We translate literally: "The master of this Book (*i. e.*, Rellach) says that it is well-pleasing to God that we laymen read and learn to understand the Bible books. In the Bible, Christian faith is often illustrated and supported. Therefore, reader, consider the thing seriously, it will bring to you great benefit and strength in your Christian faith." Farther than this, the translators did not go in their claims for the power of Scriptures as the Word of God. Elsewhere Rellach mentions another purpose—to make the reader able to dispute with the "wicked Jews."

Some of the translations contain glosses introducing legendary material. We may pardon one of the translators who considered the close of Acts too abrupt and added some references to the later activities of the apostle in the city of Rome. But there is more than a trace of monkish homiletics in the addenda made to the story of the Annunciation. The text first reproduces correctly the narrative in Matthew, but then adds that Joseph apologized to Mary for his suspicions. Later he had a change of mind in spite of the fact that Mary's girlhood friends testi-

fied to her virginity. He wanted to leave his affianced, yet defended her when the case was brought before *the bishop* (!). An ordeal is made and when Mary stands the test triumphantly the priests beg her forgiveness, etc., etc. Dogmatic alterations also are found in the early German Bibles. A manuscript in the royal library of Berlin, earlier than 1465, is careful to safeguard the celibacy of the priests by altering the reference to carnal intercourse as the custom of "all the earth," (Gen. 19: 31) into: A custom of "all the secular." Of Melchizedek the statement is made that he "brought a sacrifice" instead of "brought" (the bread and wine). In Matt. 16: 19 and 18: 18 skilful omissions are made in order to support the notion that Peter and his successors may "bind" while the apostles and their successors may only "loosen." The justification of Abel by his faith, Heb. 11: 40, is brought into harmony with the Roman doctrine by the insertion of "through his works" after the reference to justification.

Withal, some souls have no doubt found spiritual light in these early German Bibles, for the Holy Spirit spoke through them, though by an instrument, as it were, sadly out of tune and so devoid of skill in its building, that it could only imperfectly give utterance to the spirit that breathed in it. As publication ventures, considering the crude equipment at the disposal of the printers, these incunabula rank among the greatest achievements of the printer's art, yet rarely was there an edition that attained to more than 300 and at the most to 500 copies. With a maximum circulation of the fourteen Bibles set at 15,000,—the extreme limit of probability,—the Bible was not in any sense a book of the people. Luther's New Testament was reprinted 115 times, and often in large editions, from 1522 to the year of his death.

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CHAPTER IX

THE SEPTEMBER TESTAMENT, 1522

OF the many great and noble deeds done by Martin Luther, there is perhaps none greater than that of his translation of the New Testament. Indeed, as measured by its blessed results, it stands out as one of the most important events in the whole history of the Christian Church. It marks the beginning of the greatest of all eras of Bible translations, and it was undoubtedly the greatest translation of them all. It was the most far-reaching single contribution that was made to the cause of the Reformation and Evangelical Christianity.

The Need of a New Translation and the Determination to Supply It

The blessed movement for the restoration of the Gospel to the Church was now three and a half years old, and it had just found a fitting vindication in Luther's heroic stand at the Diet of Worms, April 18, 1521. But, although that Gospel was in many places already being proclaimed, as it were, from the very housetops, it was available to the reading public only in the ancient Latin language, and in a medieval German translation that was almost inaccessible, a translation which was full of errors and which was largely unintelligible to the rank and file of the people of that generation. Although brief isolated passages of the New Testament, and even of the Old Testament, had lately been translated into modern German and given to the people in the many writings of Luther and his associates, no considerable attempt at translation had yet been made.

Luther had for some time been considering the matter of making a new translation of the Bible, especially of the New Testament. Indeed, he felt more and more the importance, for the great cause in which he was engaged, of having the Word become its own vindication through the medium of the language

of the common people. But the pressure of other duties had made this virtually impossible, on the part of Luther himself, before this time. He had therefore urged others to try their hand at translation. At last, however, after he was spirited away by friends during his return from Worms, in the interest of greater safety and peace, to the Castle of the Wartburg, this voluntary exile afforded him the necessary leisure from other duties to occupy himself with this great task. There in that historic fortress, undisturbed by foe or friend, early in December, 1521, he accordingly set to work upon his projected version.

The Difficulties of the Task

That the work which he undertook to perform was a real task, may easily be imagined. The literary and Biblical tools so necessary to the scholar for so great a work, were but few in those pioneer days of the earlier period of modern scholarship, and such tools as had been developed were generally exceedingly crude. The study of the Greek language had but recently had its beginning in Western Europe, and the first Greek New Testament, that of Erasmus (1516), had been published only five years before. And what should be said as to Greek grammars, Greek dictionaries, concordances, etc.? Moreover, the German language was in such a chaotic condition that in no two parts was it spoken or written the same way, while every writer seemed to delight in taking liberties with the language by introducing variants in vocabulary, spelling and grammatical construction. It is thus readily seen that, to make a translation from the ancient dead Greek language with the linguistic tools of that age, and to bring order out of the chaotic condition of the German language so as to make it an adequate vehicle with which to convey the great truths of Christ and His apostles to modern Germany, was a stupendous work. Indeed, it was a task the greatness of which it is difficult, if not impossible, for us of the twentieth century, with its multiplied tools for the scholar and a definite fixed language, to conceive. No wonder Luther often spoke of the great difficulties with which he was confronted in making inspired men

of old speak in the German language. Moreover, the Castle of the Wartburg in its forest fastness was so removed from centers of scholarship and library facilities as to make his work there well-nigh one of intellectual isolation from the sources of Biblical and linguistic lore. How different these conditions under which Luther had to make his translation from those of later translators, who had not only all these facilities at hand but also had Luther's pioneer translation to guide them as an incomparable model! Compare with this the story of the translation of King James' English Bible by fifty-four eminent scholars (forty-seven of whom actually worked) with all the accumulated tools and all the accumulated Bible translations of nearly an added century.

The Translation Completed and Published

In spite of the limited helps and the great difficulties of the task referred to above, so rapidly did Luther work that within three months his first draft of the translation of the New Testament was completed. Then, upon his return to Wittenberg from his Wartburg exile, March 6, 1522, he corrected his manuscript and made preparations for its publication. The finished volume, in an edition of 3,000 copies (or 5,000, as has been held by some) issued from the press September 21, the very day Luther himself had several weeks before set for its appearance. He at once sent a copy to his friend Spalatin, and on September 25th he sent one through Spalatin to his Wartburg host. It is because of its appearance in September that it has quite generally been spoken of as "The September Bible," although the term *Bible* is hardly proper for the New Testament alone. It would be more appropriate to call it "The September Testament," as it is designated in the heading of this chapter.

The book bore the engraved title, with an ornamental scroll above and below it,

DAS NEWE TESTA-
MENT DEUTZSCH

The place of printing *Vuittemberg*, was *printed* below the title. The book was therefore without date, printer's name and name of translator, although the printer was Melchior Lotther and the publishers were Döring and Cranach, while it is needless to add that Luther was the translator. According to reports of the time, it was printed on three associated presses, and this fact is apparent from the book itself, as the writer has elsewhere shown.*

The Form in Which the Book Appeared

The book was a folio volume about 12½ by 8½ inches, and had 222 leaves (444 pages), with 46 to 50 lines to a full page. In the order of books, Hebrews and James follow 3 John. In the list of books, following the *Vorrhede* (preface), the books are numbered down to 23, ending with 3 John, after which follow Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation, without numbers. It has suggestive comments in the outer margin of the page and parallel references in the inner margin. In Revelation there are 21 full-page illustrations (unnumbered in the first edition), representing apocalyptic scenes. It is believed that these illustrations were the work of Lucas Cranach or of his more gifted pupils working under his direction. In fact, there are indications that these illustrations were suggested by Luther himself and that he at least properly placed them. One of these apocalyptic pictures (the seventeenth) shows the Babylonian woman (Rev. 17), who supposedly was to represent Rome, sitting upon the dragon, with what looks like a triple crown (tiara), surmounted by a cross, upon her head. This crown was cut down in the immediately succeeding editions, probably because of the surmounting cross or perhaps because of the needless offense that it might cause thus early. So in the eleventh and the sixteenth figure there was a high ornamental or triple crown upon the head of the dragon itself, which also was cut down in following editions.

**"Wittenberg Originals of the Luther Bible,"* Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 1918.

The Interesting Introductions

Following the general *Vorrhede*, which covers four pages, is a leaf, on the recto of which is an interesting appraisal of the relative value of the books of the New Testament, with the following title:

wilchs die rechten und Edlisten
bucher des newen testa
ments sind.

In this appraisal, not in the *Vorrhede*, as Church historians have said, occurs the statement which Dr. Philip Schaff, the eminent Church historian, called a "fling at the rechte stroern Epistel of St. James." After naming the books that may be considered as containing the true essence of the Gospel, namely, St. John, the First Epistle of John, Paul's Epistles, especially those to the Romans, the Galatians and the Ephesians, and the First Epistle of Peter, he continues,

Darumb ist sanct
Iacobs Epistel eyn rechte
stroern Epistel gegen sie/ . . .

From this it would seem, therefore, that he was here rather making a comparison of books than attempting to reject the Epistle. It should, however, be said that he at this time doubted the authorship of James for this Epistle.

This passage on the relative value of the books of the New Testament is not omitted or modified in his second edition, as has been said, but is reprinted in the second edition (1522) and in the third edition (1524) and is found even in the small octavo edition of 1530.

In his *Vorrhede* to the Epistles of James and Jude he gives a further evaluation. So in his *Vorrhede* to the Epistle to the Hebrews he again makes some comparison between the following four books—Hebrews, James, Jude, Revelation—and those that precede. He even questions whether Revelation was either

apostolic or prophetic. Further details* as to these several introductions and as to Luther's later views as to these books, would hardly be in place in this brief discussion.

Of this first edition about forty copies, some of them, of course, incomplete and defective, are still extant, or nearly the same number as that of the extant copies of the first edition of the Gutenberg Bible. These remaining copies, with but few exceptions, are preserved in the various great libraries of Europe.

How the Book Was Received

That the work was a masterpiece in translation, was immediately recognized by all competent scholars; and that it filled a great want, is evident from the fact that within less than three months after it had left the press, another edition, the so-called *December Bible* (1522), or better, the *December Testament*, of an equal number of copies in the edition, was issued to supply the demand for this part of the Word of God in the German language. Other editions soon followed, the next edition in 1524 (also a folio volume). But in addition to Luther's own Wittenberg editions, there were numerous reprints of his translation of the New Testament in other cities to meet the demands for the book, one of these reprints appearing already in December, 1522, from the press of Adam Petri, Basel, Switzerland. During 1523 there were at least fifteen reprints away from Wittenberg and without Luther's oversight, although there were none printed that year in Wittenberg under the direction of Luther. Indeed, he was busy on the Old Testament, the first part of which appeared already early that year.

Assuming that the various editions averaged from 3,000 to 5,000 copies, and counting Luther's two Wittenberg editions of 1522 and the Petri edition of the same year, thus making at least eighteen editions by the end of 1523, there must have been within fifteen months after the appearance of Luther's

*For the more technical points as to Luther's introductions to New Testament books, as well as to the marginal notes, etc., the reader is referred to the author's article, entitled, "*Luther's New Testament—A quadricentennial Study*," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1923.

first New Testament somewhere between 54,000 and 90,000 copies of his translation in circulation or ready for circulation. It would seem, therefore, that the statement that has been made, that by 1533 100,000 copies were sold, must be far too low an estimate as to the actual number in circulation within a dozen years after its first publication. As it was a translation into the language of the people, it was not only widely read, but also widely committed to memory.

It will be of some interest, in passing, to note that the tendency on the part of enterprising printers to commercialize his translation, especially that of the New Testament, became offensive to Luther. Thus, in his small octavo Testament of 1530, printed by Hans Lufft, we find an interesting protest on the verso of the title-page, under the heading, *Martinus Luter*, as follows:

“Ich bitte alle meine freunde vnd feinde/ meine meister/ drucker/ vnd leser/ wolten dis new testament lassen mein sein/ Haben sie aber mangel dran/ das sie selbs ein eigens fur sich machen/ Ich weis wol/ was ich mache/ sehe auch wol was ander machen/ aber dis Testament sol des Luthers deudsch Testament sein/ denn meisterus vnd klugelns ist ist/ widder masse noch ende.”

Such a protest might well have been made, as from the publication of his translation, especially that of the New Testament, printers were made rich, although Luther himself as its translator never collected anything for his incalculably far-reaching service.

The Basis and the Merits of the Translation

The translation was based chiefly upon Erasmus's Greek New Testament, the second edition, 1519, which also was an important contribution to the cause of the Reformation. Luther's New Testament was therefore the first modern version based upon the original Greek, even as was his Old Testament the first made directly from the original Hebrew.

Of the importance of this translation for the German language and for German literature we should hardly need to speak in this connection, while space would not permit us to

do justice to this point. Indeed, this subject is discussed elsewhere in this volume. Of several of the points just referred to, a little more will be said at the proper place in the next chapter. It should, however, briefly be said that the translation was a masterpiece in simplicity and directness, while its idiomatic German renderings made it in many passages a crisp *interpretation*, as though it were itself almost an original record instead of a translation. It is therefore not to be wondered at that it became the ideal model, and even in a real sense a source, for the other great translations, both on the continent and in England,* that followed it during that century and thereafter. No wonder it has never really been supplanted even in Germany by any attempted translation that has been made since the time of Luther.

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*See the author's "*The First English New Testament and Luther*," Burlington, Iowa, 1928. Also "*The Truth about Tyndale's New Testament*," *Lutheran Church Review*," October, 1916, and April-May, 1917.

CHAPTER X

THE GERMAN BIBLE, 1534

THE first edition of Luther's German translation of the New Testament came from the press in September of the year 1522. At the time the publisher, it seems, feared for his investment and accordingly set the price per copy high. Copies sold for one and one-half gulden, which is figured at either six or ten dollars in American money. However, the misgivings of the publisher proved to be wholly unfounded. During the next twenty-four years, from 1522 to 1546, no less than twenty-two special editions of the new translation appeared in Wittenberg alone; in addition thereto this translation was incorporated in eleven Wittenberg editions of the complete Bible during the twelve years from 1534 to 1546. To be sure, we do not know exactly how large these editions were. Basing their conclusions on a remark concerning the first edition which Luther makes in one of his letters, some scholars hold that the editions consisted of 3,000 copies; others figure with editions as large as 5,000 copies, and are of the opinion that as many as 100,000 copies of the complete Bible came forth from the print shop of Johann Lufft between 1534 and 1584. We may not be willing to accept these figures; on the other hand, we must guard ourselves against underestimating the size of the editions. By a happy accident we are in possession of a contract for a reprint of the New Testament which a printer in Nürnberg made with Michael Kuder in Wiesensteig near Ulm on July 25, 1526. This contract calls for 3,000 copies. Assuming that this was an edition of average size, the twenty-two special editions of the New Testament which appeared in Wittenberg from 1522 to 1546 alone amounted to 66,000 copies. To these we must add the total number of copies in the eleven Wittenberg editions of the complete Bible, which editions perhaps were somewhat smaller on the average than the editions of the New Testament. To this total we must add the number of copies in the numerous

reprints of the New Testament and of the complete Bible which were made outside of Wittenberg. As far as we know today, no less than 253 editions of the Bible, complete or in part, appeared in Germany between 1522 and 1546!

If we compare the various editions of Luther's New Testament, we begin to realize with what indefatigable diligence Luther had labored since the appearance of the September edition to improve his translation. When a second edition became necessary as early as December of the same year, it was far from Luther's mind to permit a mere reprint of the text. The December edition shows no less than 574 improvements over the earlier text. Not only did he correct the typographical errors of the September edition, he also translated many single words altogether differently; in many instances he changed the word order of the sentences and made improvements in syntax and style. The next four editions, those of the years 1524 and 1525, show only minor changes in the translation. The two editions of the year 1526, however, contain more than 200 new readings, among which are a considerable number of changed translations; and the edition of 1527, published very likely by Lufft and extant today only in the form of reprints made outside of Wittenberg, must be considered a new translation. To be sure, many of the changes included in this edition were not incorporated in the 1530 edition, but many of them were; some remained in the text through all subsequent editions. But in spite of these facts, the edition of 1527 was only a preliminary to that of 1530, for the edition of 1530 contained a text which had been wholly revised. Two hundred and eighty-five readings had been changed more or less in the Gospel according to St. Matthew alone; in the entire New Testament there were about ten times as many changed readings as were to be found in the 1527 edition. It is quite easy to understand why Luther prefaces just this edition with the following plea and warning: "I beg all my friends and enemies, my critics, printers, and readers to permit this New Testament to be my own; should they find mistakes and shortcomings in this translation, let them make one of their own. I know what

I am doing, and am also cognizant of what others are doing; but this Testament is intended to be Luther's German Testament, even if there is no end to criticism and suggestions. Furthermore, let everyone be warned against copies which are not genuine, for I have experienced how slovenly and inaccurately others copy our text."

Luther's diligent efforts to perfect his translation did not cease with the 1530 edition. The edition of the New Testament published 1533 contains additional corrections, and the same is true of the New Testament text included in the Bible edition of 1534. What untiring detail work, what a devotion to the subject, and what a deep reverence for the inspired Word of God motivated these efforts!

But what can be said about his translation of the Old Testament?—for Luther had planned a German version of the entire Bible. In spite of the difficulties involved, Luther felt that he was better qualified to work on the New Testament than he was to translate the Old. For that reason he had already begun the translation of the New Testament while he was at the Wartburg. To Amsdorf in Wittenberg he had written January 13, 1522: "I shall attempt a translation of the Old Testament only when I am again with you" (with his friends in Wittenberg). It was after his return to Wittenberg, where Aurogallus, professor of Hebrew at the university, and Melancthon could advise him, that he went to work on the translating of the Old Testament, even before the first edition of the New Testament had left the press.

Let us glance over the shoulder of the reformer as he sits at his work. Before him on the table lies the Hebrew Bible, the 1494 edition published in Brescia. To the left lies the Septuagint, perhaps in the edition published in Venice in 1518; to the right the Vulgate, possibly the edition published in Basel in 1509. Close at hand is Reuchlin's *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae* of 1506, a combination of dictionary and grammar, which Luther had already acquired between 1506 and 1507 in the monastery. Naturally, the Greek grammar and the Latin-Greek dictionary were also there. Perhaps it was

Melanchthon's Grammar of 1518, and the dictionary was very likely the *Lexicon Græco-Latinum* written by Aleander in 1512 which Luther seems already to have used at the Wartburg. If his edition of the Vulgate did not include the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the *Glossa Interlinearis*, and Lyra's *Annotations* as did the *Biblia cum postillis*, (Venice, 1482), these helps were accessible to him in other form (e. g., *Postillæ perpetuæ in Vetus the Glossa Interlinearis*, and Lyra's *Annotaciones* as did the *umes* represented the best of medieval exegetical work. Faber's *Psalterium Quintuplex* of 1509 was very likely also at his disposal. The outstanding exegetical works of the old Church stood on the shelves of cloister or university library. And since it was a German translation of the Old Testament that Luther planned to make, we may be safe in assuming that he also had access to a few Latin-German dictionaries, e. g., *Vocabularium ex quo* (the 1477 edition is extant in Berlin) which was widely used at that time and with which Luther was acquainted since his student days. One or the other volume of the *Vocabularii prædicantium* (e. g., Strassburg, 1782; Magdeburg, 1495) must also have been there. Aside from these, he very likely had German editions of the Pericopes, which contained a good number of Old Testament passages and would prove helpful in supplying certain German phrases and expressions. Last of all, it is considered at least highly probable today that Luther also occasionally consulted at least one of the German Bibles which had been published during the Middle Ages, namely, the Zainer Bible of about 1475.

For a man of Luther's scholarly habits it was self-evident that he should make liberal use of any and all helps which could aid him in producing a correct translation. However, he rigidly adhered to the principle that the original Hebrew should be basic and decisive for his work. It was the original Hebrew text on which he based his translation; the Hebrew original, and not the helps, determined his translation finally.

He felt that the translators of the Septuagint had been "inexperienced and awkward with the Hebrew language, their translations crude and inaccurate, because they did not duly

respect Hebrew letters and words and the Hebrew manner of speaking." Concerning Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate, he even said: "Whoever considers Jerome a Hebrew scholar does him a great injustice." His comment on Lyra was that he imitated Christ's enemies, the rabbis, too closely. No doubt he was referring to the books on the Pericopes, to the Psalters, and also to the medieval Bible translations when he remarked: "Now I know what it means to translate and why no one has attempted it until now without concealing his name," with which remark he, of course, also expressed his opinion as to the quality of these translations. Luther would not even follow the dictionaries blindly, for he had recognized very correctly "that style and sentence structure" might give one and the same word various meanings: "For instance, when I say to someone, 'See if you can do this!' I voice the belief that the person to whom I am speaking is not able to do it; but when I say 'Notice, I will do this for you and then you do it,' I express my assurance that the person to whom I am speaking is able to do it, and my desire that he should actually do it." But in spite of their inadequacy he appreciated his helps and used them gratefully whenever he could.

His first step in translating was to comprehend clearly the literal meaning of the Hebrew words. In this his remarkable memory and his rare gifts of distinguishing fine shades of meaning in the use of words served him excellently. The next step was to express the Hebrew meaning in idiomatic German. This second step often caused more difficulties than the first. Amsdorf, whose assistance Luther often sought in finding idiomatic expressions, once complained: "That I should have a word in mind, understand it clearly, have it on the tip of my tongue and not be able to say it, is irksome indeed. Sometimes it is necessary to remold expressions four times before they sound right."

As a result of these difficulties in translating, Luther's work progressed much more slowly than he had hoped. By the beginning of November he had only completed about half of the Pentateuch. And when he undertook to translate the second

half, with its detailed prescriptions regarding sacrifices, which carefully differentiated between the various internal organs of the sacrificial beasts, his difficulties increased tremendously. And how could one expect a man who had never taken a course in physiology or anatomy to grope his way through this Hebrew text and find the German equivalent? While translating the New Testament, he had had Spalatin send him the collection of jewels from the elector's palace in the last part of March in order to get the correct German names for the precious stones mentioned in Revelation 21. This time he himself went to see a butcher, watched him slaughter a few sheep, and carefully noted the idiomatic German designations for every organ and part as the butcher named them. In spite of these difficulties Luther finished the Pentateuch within the next four weeks.

In order that the volume might not be excessively large and the price too high, and in order that the reading public might not be compelled to wait too long for the installments of the German Bible, Luther decided even before the end of 1522 to publish the Old Testament in three sections of which the Pentateuch was to be the first. But before the printer was permitted to set type, Luther insisted that the manuscript should be revised carefully with the assistance of his friends in Wittenberg. We are sorry to say that no more definite information concerning this revision has come down to us. However, from Luther's correspondence with Spalatin during this time, it is evident that also in this revision he strove for an authentic translation into idiomatic German. He wrote: "The Hebrew text of Genesis 1: 27 reads, 'He created man in the image after the likeness of God.' Now the intended meaning is that man was created to be a god-like creature; but, you translate that into German if you can." And in a letter shortly thereafter, Luther "adjures" Spalatin to help him with the "birds of prey, wild animals, and reptiles" in the Pentateuch, to send him their German names, descriptions, and peculiarities in order that he might translate correctly in all cases.

During the last four months of the year 1523 this first section

of the Old Testament was published in the print shop of Melchior Lotther. It bore the title *Das Alte Testament Deutsch. M. Luther. Wittenberg*. The volume contained 148 folio pages, not counting illustrations, and had a splendid title page. In the Preface Luther admonished the reader not to think lightly of the Old Testament since "Christ Himself and also the apostles had effectively substantiated and proved the New Testament by quoting from the Old." He follows this with a discourse on the service which the Old Testament renders, namely, that it becomes man's schoolmaster to bring him to Christ. At the conclusion of the Preface he also touches upon his translation and admits that he is conscious of the fact that he had not succeeded with his translation in all respects, yet he dares to maintain that his German Bible is more easily intelligible and accurate than the Latin translation. As he had made his German New Testament more attractive by using illuminated initials at the beginning of each book and by supplying the Book of Revelation with illustrations, so he enhanced the beauty of this volume by including six illuminated initials and eleven full-page wood-cuts. The motif of the illuminated initials (the one at the beginning of the Preface portraying Moses preaching to the people reoccurs at the beginning of Deuteronomy) is taken from the content of the respective books. The eleven wood-cuts treat: 1. The Deluge. 2. The Intervention of the Angel at the Sacrifice of Isaac. 3. Jacob's Ladder. 4. Joseph Interpreting Pharaoh's Dreams. 5-10. Interior and Exterior Views of the Tabernacle. 11. The High Priest in Official Garb. The last seven wood-cuts are especially typical of Luther. In connection with his New Testament volume, he had tried, although in vain, to supply a map of Palestine, "in order to make the text more easily intelligible, since illustrations tend to facilitate comprehension." In like manner, he saw to it now, in connection with his volume of the Old Testament, that the setting for Hebrew worship was brought before the reader's eye in pictures; for, although the reader was naturally unfamiliar with these arrangements, a

knowledge of them was necessary to understand the references in the New Testament.

Luther continued his work on the Old Testament throughout the year 1523 with the result that the second section, which contained the books, from Joshua to Esther, could be published in 1524. In order that this section might be bound together with the first, there was nothing on the title page except the words: *Das Ander teyl des alten testaments*, and the picture of a warrior in armor who holds a staff in his right hand and his helmet in the left. At the end of the text was printed merely: *Gedrucht zu Wittemberg*. The name of the publisher is not given; however, the last leaf is decorated with two shields to the left of which is the symbol of the lamb with the cross. To the right of the shields is Luther's coat-of-arms, a rose upon which a heart and a cross are superimposed, and the initials M. L. under which are the words: "This mark signifies that all copies bearing it are authentic publications of mine; for there are many unethical printers in these days."

The printer's copy of the greater part of this second section of the Old Testament has been preserved. The text had been marked out and corrected so often (sometimes as often as four times), that it certainly must have been hard for the printer to find his way through; but we appreciate these corrections, for they are the greatest proof of the painstaking accuracy and exemplary conscientiousness with which Luther translated, especially since we find these renewed attempts at improvement not only in passages which are highly important doctrinally but also in passages which are relatively unimportant. Illuminated initials are lacking in this second section of the Old Testament; instead, this volume has twenty-three illustrations which explain the text, of which three are full-page cuts. Five of these also treat of the temple and the arrangements for worship.

By February, 1524, Luther had already begun the third section of the Old Testament. He had planned to include the so-called doctrinal and prophetic books in this section; in reality, the prophets were not included. The Book of Job, especially, caused Luther almost insurmountable difficulties in

translating. It was not without a touch of humor that Luther in the midst of these difficulties, wrote: "It is the grandeur of Job's grand style that is causing us such difficulties that one sometimes feels as if Job could bear translating even less than the comfort of his friends. He insists upon sitting in sackcloth and ashes all the time. Then again it seems as if the writer of the book had decided that his book should never be translated and had written it accordingly." Looking back over the completed translation, he wrote later: "M. Philipp, Aurogallus, and I, had to work so hard at this translation that sometimes we could barely translate three lines in four days. Gracious, now that it is translated into German and finished, anyone can read it and get the meaning out of it, peruse three or four pages and find no difficulties; but he doesn't realize with what hardships we had to struggle before we arrived at the translation. Where the reader glides along smoothly, as over a polished surface, we had to sweat and worry to clear the track of obstacles and to fill up the ditches." Since Luther, as we have already mentioned, had decided not to include the prophets in the third section of the Old Testament, and had previously worked on the translation of the Psalms, the largest of the so-called doctrinal books, this section of the Old Testament could be published also in 1524. It bore the title: *Das Dritte teyl des alten testaments. Wittenberg 1524*. These words are surrounded by a beautiful border. At the top of the page the border depicts a group of twelve men standing in front of an open book. David is pictured below at the left, Moses at the right, and the Crucifixion of Jesus in the center. The book itself contains only one full-page wood-cut, which pictures Job in his leprosy, receiving the bad news in the presence of his three friends and his scoffing wife; the falling house and the herds being driven away are visible in the background. This volume, too, had beautifully illuminated initials, but they do not represent Biblical scenes. Even though the second section of the Old Testament had been published without a special preface, this section has one which devotes itself to the Book of Job in particular.

The major part of the printer's copy of this section has also been preserved for us. It gives us a clear picture of the manner in which Luther worked at his translation. In making the first draft of Job 30: 1-19, he found six Hebrew words which he could not translate into German. In order that he might go on, he jotted the Hebrew words down temporarily and supplied the German equivalents later. Or, to give another hint as to his method, we find thirteen Latin notes in the margin of this same passage. In these he has jotted down what seemed to him at the time to be the correct meaning of the Hebrew words. Later he has crossed out the Latin and substituted the corresponding German words or phrases.

After this section of the Old Testament had been published, Luther's work was seriously interrupted. The controversy with the Enthusiasts, the Peasant War, the encounter with Erasmus, and the controversies about the Lord's Supper, together with his journey of visitations, the Diet of Augsburg, and all sorts of bodily illness did not permit him the peace of mind which he needed in order to translate the Prophets. To keep himself from drifting away from the translation altogether, he lectured on the Minor Prophets during the period from 1524 to 1526 and began his lectures on Isaiah in May of 1527. As fruits of this activity he published the German translations of Jonah and Habakkuk in 1526 and of Zechariah and Isaiah in 1528. It was while translating this last volume that he recorded the sigh: "Lord, what a task it is to compel Hebrew prophets to express themselves in German. They refuse to be separated from the Hebrew language and to take on the raw accents of the German. It's just like compelling a nightingale to surrender her liquid melodies and sing the monotonous song of a cuckoo which she despises." At intervals, while he was working at these Prophets, he would return to work at the Psalms, for the translation which he had published in 1524 no longer satisfied him. What he published in 1528 was such a thorough revision of his translation of the Psalms that he deemed it advisable to call special attention to the revision in the title. The new title read: *Neu Deutsch Psalter. Wittenberg 1. 5. 2. 8.*

It was a convenient octavo volume, 152 pages of twenty-seven lines to the page. After he had made a short excursion into the Apocrypha, and published the Wisdom of Solomon in 1529, contemporary conditions in Europe attracted him to the prophet Daniel, which was translated and published by the beginning of the year 1530.

Then followed Luther's stay at Coburg. It was his intention to devote himself entirely to the translation of the Prophets, and by the end of June he had actually finished Jeremiah. Of Ezekiel he translated chapters thirty-eight and thirty-nine first. Since, as he tells us in the Preface, he interpreted the prophecies concerning Gog as referring to the Turks, he published these two chapters with marginal notes in a special volume in 1530. Nickel Schirlentz of Wittenberg was the publisher. Luther turned next to translate the rest of the Minor Prophets. He finished Ezekiel after he had returned to Wittenberg, but for some unknown reasons its publication was delayed. It was February, 1532, before he wrote the Preface to the complete edition of the Prophets, which he published in March under the title: *Die Propheten alle Deutsch, D. Mart. Luth. Wittenberg 1532*. This volume contained 194 pages of 43 and sometimes 44 lines to the page. It opened with a Preface to all the Prophets even though each individual book is separately prefaced. These separate prefaces and the texts themselves begin with wood-cut initials. Of illustrations this volume had only those few which had been previously included in the separate editions of Isaiah and Daniel. This volume of the prophets was the keystone which completed the gigantic arch of Luther's translation of the Bible into the German language. But he had intended to include the Apocrypha, and most of these were still untranslated. Ecclesiasticus and Maccabees were published in 1533; the rest (The Wisdom of Solomon had already appeared in 1529) were published for the first time in the edition of the complete Bible of 1534.

But even now Luther did not consider his work finished. Far from it. Now he called together a special commission and asked its members to join him in revising his translation

thoroughly. Some writers have often presented the matter as though Luther had been working together with these learned friends from Wittenberg ever since he had returned to that city from the Wartburg, and as though even the first draft of Luther's translation had to be considered not as Luther's own translation but as the product of the collaboration of this commission with Luther. But from what has been said, it can be clearly seen that this was not the case. Up until 1531 he occasionally consulted friends and scholars residing in Wittenberg and elsewhere; but this can not be spoken of as a commission called together to translate the Bible. Not even with his friend Melanchthon did Luther discuss all the material before it was published. And whenever he did meet with Melanchthon it was always to discuss portions which Luther had already translated, so that Luther alone must be considered the sole author of the Bible translation. Melanchthon admits that himself; for even though he had gone through the entire manuscript of the New Testament with Luther before it had been published in September, 1522, he emphasizes the fact (in a letter to Cruciger near the end of November, 1522), that this German New Testament is Luther's gift to the Church. Later, when Luther's published translations were revised for subsequent editions, the situation was altogether different. That such a commission for the revision of the Bible translation had existed, and how this commission had functioned in general, was known from Mathesius' sermons on Luther's life. In one of these sermons Mathesius also states that Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Jonas Cruciger and Aurogallus together with Luther had made up this commission and that the proofreader, Roerer, was also present at the meetings. But these statements by Mathesius refer to the revision which was made during the years 1539-1541, the results of which are extant even today in the text of the 1541 Bible edition, "newly revised." For many years scholars believed that this revision of 1539-1541 was the only revision of the text that had ever been made. Today it is an established fact that such a joint revision had already been made once in 1531 and again in 1534. Today we even have

detailed minutes of these meetings of this revision committee. at least of those meetings which were held during the year 1531 and of those held from 1539 to 1541. If we include the meetings during the year 1541, at which the translation of the New Testament was revised, and the meetings during 1544, during which the final revision of the New Testament, particularly of the Pauline letters was made, then this commission met in Luther's house with Luther acting as chairman in at least five sessions at different times during this period.

The 1531 session of the committee revised the text of Luther's 1528 edition of the Psalms with which he was no longer satisfied because he considered it too much a Hebrew and not enough a German version. The minutes of these meetings show how the commission labored in every instance to find the most accurate and fitting German expression with which to convey to the reader the full meaning of the Hebrew original. The mere reproduction in German of the literal meaning of every Hebrew word was not considered the ideal translation. The commission strove for something better than that. With careful regard for the unwritten laws of the German vernacular, these men sought to express the logical content of the Hebrew construction as well as the personal attitude of the speaker in idiomatic German words and sentences. As Luther emphasizes in this connection, "It is one thing to be able to understand the meaning of the Psalms yourself, and an altogether different thing to be able to express their meaning in intelligible words so that others can understand them." If anyone desires a deeper insight into the problems to which Luther refers, he should read the article: *Summarien ueber die Psalmen und Ursachen des Dolmetschens* of 1531 in which Luther depicts the work of these committee sessions and the conclusions to which it brought him. Into those meetings Luther brought his desk copies of the German Psalter of 1528 and of the Latin Psalter of 1529, on the pages of which, between the lines, in the margin, above and below, he had made numerous annotations, especially while he was staying in the fortress Coburg. (These desk copies with Luther's annotations are still extant).

In addition thereto, the commission made use of Latin commentaries and whatever other German translations of the Bible had been published. But the other members of the commission also came to the meetings well prepared and equipped for the work—Melanchthon, Cruciger, Aurogallus, sometimes also Justus Jonas and Veit Dietrich. Frequently there were lively debates about the manner in which a passage should be translated; in many instances Roerer's minutes of the meeting lists the names of the men who championed the various possibilities. After these had been thoroughly discussed, Luther would make the final decision. "I like this version," he would say, or "That's it; that's what we want." However, in spite of all the effort expended to find correct translations, Luther would sometimes complain: "This is what the Hebrew means, but you can't express it in German." At other times he would circumscribe the meaning in German words, and finally adapt himself more closely to the Hebrew because the circumscription seemed to be too free a translation. The result of this intensive revision was the new edition of the Psalms published in 1531: *Der Deutsch Psalter D. Luthers zu Wittenberg. 1531*. It was an octavo volume of 152 pages, decorated with woodcut initials but without pictures. Melanchthon's coat-of-arms appears on the title-page of this volume beside that of Luther. It is easy to understand why Luther concluded this edition with the postscript: "If anyone should feel like criticizing us for having translated the Psalms too freely, let him keep his wisdom to himself and leave our Psalms alone. While we realized that we were translating freely, we weighed every word carefully and tried diligently to make our German translation accurate. And there were plenty of scholars present at the time, too. We refer those persons who desire to see what progress we have made in this translation to our former edition. A comparison of the two translations will show that we are getting closer and closer to our ideal. Our previous translation is closer to the Hebrew in many instances and further from the German; this one is more genuinely German and less Hebrew than the former translation was."

The translation of the complete Bible experienced a similar intensive revision at the hands of the same committee before it assumed the form which we find in the edition of 1534. The historicity of this revision has been definitely established even though the minutes of the meetings disappeared in 1557 and have not been rediscovered to date. The only method by which we can gain some idea of the extent of this revision is by carefully comparing the edition of 1534 with the former editions. Naturally, some books did not need revising as much as others. The text of the prophet Isaiah, for instance, shows many more changed translations than does the prophet Jeremiah. For more authentic particulars on this matter we shall have to wait until the missing volumes of the Weimar German Bible have been published. This much, however, can be said with certainty already: the second series of committee meetings also did much to improve Luther's translations, even though the short time at the disposal of the committee precluded the possibility of the extensive and thorough work which had been done from 1539 to 1541. It would go beyond the interest of this chapter were we to treat this third or even the fourth and fifth series of committee meetings more in detail.

Thus, everything that Luther had ever done toward the production of a German Bible, especially his efforts since 1522, together with the efforts of his friends, his knowledge and ability, his conscientiousness and faithfulness, his labors and practice, his prayers and supplications, and his religious experience, was incorporated in and served to enrich the first complete edition of Luther's German Bible of 1534. The work of printing lasted through the month of June. The Elector's permit to print, issued to Johann Lufft in Wittenberg, is dated August 6. On October 17 Levin Metzsch in Mylau was already in possession of a complete unbound volume, for which he paid "two floren and eight groschen." The volume contained 908 pages of from 49 to 52 lines to the page; the Psalms and portions of Proverbs were printed in double columns. The format was folio, like that of the September edition of the New Testament. The full title read: *Biblia, das ist, die gantze Heilige*

Schrift Deudsch. Mart. Luth. Wittemberg. Begnadet mit Kurfürstlicher zu Sachsen freiheit. Gedruckt durch Hans Lufft. M.D. xxxiii.

We have seen many beautiful specimens of 16th century printing, but none as beautiful as this edition of Luther's Bible. One of the most outstanding experts on 16th century publications writes: "All in all this first complete edition of Luther's Bible is one of the finest products of printing during the Reformation Age." To begin with, the title page is highly ornate and attractive. The title itself is surrounded by an ornamental border: An old man, whose head is surrounded by a halo, is sitting in the center of a high balcony, writing with quill and ink. The paper on which he is writing hangs down over the front of the balcony, and on it is written the sentence, "God's Word Endures Eternally." To the right, on the balcony, is a little angel holding an opened book; to the left are two little angels, one carrying a closed book, and the other holding a sealed document in his hand down over the edge of the balcony. On the two pilasters beneath the columns which support the balcony, two angels in armor are holding flags; on the left flag is the coat of arms showing the Elector's swords, and on the right is the escutcheon of Saxony. Below the balcony five angels are busy nailing to the wall the large white sheet on which the title of the book is written. On the two steps below, sixteen little angels are grouped about one who is sitting in the center foreground reading a book.

The initial letters in the volume are as highly decorative as the title page. In addition to small woodcut initials, there is a large pictorial initial at the beginning of practically every book, and these are exceptionally attractive. The volume contains 124 pictures in the text, of which seven, however, are duplicates. All of these are new drawings, made especially for this edition; Luther himself suggested the outlines for a number of them. For since Luther was modern in many respects, he also had an eye for the artistic. He was modern in the best sense of the term, for instance, in this, that he did not divide the chapters into separate verses. To be sure, the division into

verses facilitates the quoting of passages, but all too often this division also destroys the continuity and makes it more difficult to see the unity of thought. Instead of dividing the text into verses, Luther divided it into paragraphs, each of which begins on a new line. Only in passing can we refer to the keen literary appreciation which his divisions reveal. Likewise, we can merely mention that this edition included excellent prefaces to the books of the Bible, for we must assume that these have already been treated in a foregoing chapter of this volume. Finally, it would be an alluring task to give more details about the type of translation which Luther perfected; but that also must be left to one of the following chapters.*

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*These topics and all other questions concerning Luther's German Bible are treated extensively in my larger volume, *Luther's German Bible*, published by the Lutheran Book Concern, Columbus, Ohio.

CHAPTER XI

LUTHER, PRINCE OF TRANSLATORS

SOON after finishing his translation of the *New Testament*, Luther began work on the *Old Testament*. Later on, in Wittenberg, he held regular conferences with other eminent scholars; but the chief burden of translation was his, as, of course, was the proper idiomatic phrasing of the translation throughout. The outstanding men among those whom he thus consulted were Melanchthon, Jonas, Kreuziger, Aurogallus and Roerer. The *Pentateuch* (Genesis-Deuteronomy) appeared early in 1523, but without date; the *Second Part* (Joshua-Esther), in 1524 (not 1523, as some writers have held); the *Third Part* (Job-Song of Solomon), in 1524; the *Prophets* (Isaiah-Malachi), in 1532. Then came the translation of the *Apocrypha* by 1533, and its incorporation into the complete Bible of 1534.

Although there is no account of its separate publication before its appearance as one of the parts of the completed Bible, there is a copy of the *Apocrypha* in separate binding at the writer's hand, a thin folio volume by itself, which would at least suggest that it may also have been issued separately, like the other parts. But this separate volume of the *Apocrypha*, with date of 1534 on the title-page, corresponds in every particular with the *Apocrypha* in the 1534 edition of the whole Bible. Thus, while it was incorporated into the complete Bible of that year, it may also have been issued in this separate form for the accommodation of such as already had copies of all the other parts. However, all those other parts were already slightly revised and re-edited for the collected form of the complete Bible of 1534.

All these *original* parts, including the *New Testament*, were printed in Wittenberg, appearing in folio volumes of uniform size, apparently with a view from the beginning of making a translation of the whole Bible, and therefore of making the collection of the parts in one publication more convenient.

The Form in Which the Completed Bible Appeared

It is thus seen that, beginning with the New Testament in 1522 Luther's translation appeared in six parts (if we include the *Apocrypha*), or separate volumes, before the complete Bible appeared in 1534. This completed Bible came from the press of Hans Lufft, Wittenberg, and appeared in two volumes, the first volume going as far as the end of the Song of Solomon and therefore containing the first three parts previously printed separately. The second volume contained the last three parts, beginning with Isaiah and ending with the Revelation of St. John, the *Apocrypha* appearing between the other two parts. In size the book was a folio, of the same dimensions as those of the *New Testament*, and indeed all the other parts that had appeared separately before, or nearly 8½ by 12½ inches. There are from 48 to 50 lines to a full page. Each of the six parts had its own title-page (the first part having the general title-page for the whole Bible), and each part had its own numbering or pagination, as well as its own signatures. The pagination in all cases is with Roman numerals. The leaves are, of course, numbered only on one side. The total number of leaves, including the six blank leaves, was 918. Due to errors in the numbering, repeating or skipping of numerals, there has been some confusion as to the exact number of leaves. Even the celebrated Weimar Edition of Luther's Works erroneously gives the book only 908 folios.

The book is illustrated with numerous woodcuts and woodcut initials, most of them probably by Lucas Cranach and his school of artists. Revelation has twenty-six apocalyptic pictures, based upon those of the small octavo New Testament printed by Hans Lufft in 1530, while these were modeled after those of the earlier folio Wittenberg editions of the New Testament, already referred to. These apocalyptic illustrations, with many others of the complete Bible, were reproduced in many later Bibles. In the figure of the scarlet woman (as well as in the two of the dragon), that had the triple crown in the first edition of the New Testament, this tiara is much more definite

and pronounced, although the crown is not surmounted by a cross.

It is needless to say that our modern verse division is not found in this first edition of Luther's Bible. Indeed, it did not get into Luther's Bible until 1568, or twenty-two years after Luther's death. The division of the text into verses was first introduced for more easy reference into a Graeco-Latin New Testament by Robert Stephens in 1551, while its first appearance in English was in the Genevan, or Whittingham's, New Testament of 1557. Then with the publication of the so-called Breeches Bible (Geneva) of 1560 it became a permanent feature of the whole Bible in the English language. The division into paragraphs, which in various different forms is, of course, much older than the printed Bible, is a proper feature of Luther's Bible, as also it is of all other printed Bibles.

Early Uncertainty as to the Date of the First Edition

For a number of years before 1734 there was considerable uncertainty as to whether or not there really was an edition of Luther's complete Bible in 1534, that is, one with the date M.D.XXXIIII on its title-page, because no one then actually knew of an existing copy. Copies of the 1535 and other editions were known to be extant, but none of this 1534 edition. The supposition then was that the first edition was the one with M.D.XXXV (1535) on its title-page. As in that 1535 edition the *Dedication* to John Frederick of Saxony ends with the date 1534, it was believed that it was that 1535 edition (with M.D.XXXV on the title-page) to which tradition and certain statements of Luther and his contemporaries referred. But in preparation for the second centennial of the publication of Luther's translation, J. M. Krafft made an investigation to establish the fact whether or not there was an edition of 1534, which in effect was to prove whether Luther's complete Bible was first published in 1534 or in 1535. In 1735 Krafft published the results of his findings in his "Historische Nachricht," in which he stated that he had actually located seven copies, several of them incomplete, having the date M.D.XXXIIII

(1534) upon the title-page. One of these seven copies has been checked over by the writer. It was thus found that the "Dedication" to John Frederick among the preliminary leaves, with its date of 1534, was merely reprinted with that date in the 1535 edition, as it was even in later editions. Since Krafft's time about thirty more copies, some of them incomplete and defective, have been found.

Of the numerous editions, and of parts of the Bible, that appeared during the next hundred years, in Wittenberg and in other German and foreign cities, the scope of this article forbids us to speak.

*The Merits of the Translation and Luther's Qualifications
as a Translator*

That the work of translation, especially that of the Old Testament, was as to some passages not an easy task, is evident from Luther's own statement, that it was difficult to make the old Hebrew prophets speak German. In the Book of Job, also, he found various passages that it was hard to render in sixteenth century German. Indeed, to certain passages he devoted a great deal of time, sometimes taking days to put them into appropriate German phraseology. To this end he often consulted men in workshops and markets, for example, Jewish butchers, to get the proper terms for parts of the animal in the Temple sacrifices. For a proper translation of the precious stones mentioned in Revelation, he was privileged to use the crown jewels.

The translation is noted for its simplicity of expression and for its faithfulness to the idioms in the original Hebrew and Greek. The aim was not so much to give an academically literal translation of the original languages, as it was to give a real interpretation of the meaning and spirit of the inspired writers. Thus in Romans 3: 28 Luther's translation reads, "So halten wyrs nu/ das der mensch gerechtfertiget werde/ on zu thun der werck des gesetzs/ alleyn durch dē glawben." This is very free rendering, and has been criticized because the word "alleyn" could not be used in a literal translation, even as it

does not appear in the somewhat free rendering in our own Revised Version, in which the translation is as follows: "We reckon therefore that a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the Law." But while it is true that the word "alone" would have no place in a very literal translation, it is also true that that is undoubtedly just what St. Paul meant to convey, as a comparison of this passage with his many statements on faith and justification elsewhere will prove. The remarkable thing about Luther's translation in this and many other passages is therefore the fact that he seemed to have such a spiritual insight into the truth conveyed by the original text as to enable him to express the unmistakable meaning in the mind of the inspired writer.

That Luther was well qualified for his task is acknowledged by friend and foe alike,—by Lutherans, non-Lutherans and Roman Catholics. He was not only a thorough student of the ancient Biblical languages, Greek and Hebrew, which the Revival of Learning had restored to an honorable place in the world of scholarship, but he was also a master of his native German tongue. He not only understood the meaning conveyed by the writings of ancient prophets and apostles, but he also knew how to set forth that meaning in the most vigorous German of that generation. In fact, he not only was a master of the best German of that time, but by the expressive German of his matchless translation he unconsciously became the creator of the Modern German language, even as Tyndale, Shakespeare and King James' English Version were in a real sense the creators of the best in the Modern English language. Thus Luther not only elevated the German of that day into one of the most expressive languages of all time, but through his translation, which was destined to endure without a wholly satisfactory retranslation to supplant or supersede it, he in no small measure fixed that language for centuries to come. It is still largely used, as the popular translation and interpretation of the original, by all German-speaking people of whatever faith throughout the world, and it will probably continue to be used throughout the future.

The Textual Sources of the Translation

From a critical standpoint, the actual text of Luther's Bible might be improved upon, especially in the light of the discoveries of many important ancient manuscripts that were wholly unknown in the sixteenth century. But from a religious standpoint, as the real interpretation of the mind of the Spirit Who guided the writers, it will probably continue to stand unique, not only among all attempted German translations, but also among all the other translations into the many languages of the world. Indeed, it was Luther's aim to make a translation for the needs of the common people; and through it the common people still gladly hear the voice of Him Who is the Word of God indeed. To this end he consulted probably no manuscripts, but merely availed himself of the work of others along that line. For the New Testament he accordingly used the Greek text of Erasmus, as found in that Greek scholar's second and somewhat improved edition of 1519, or perhaps even as found in a reprint of that edition. He also may have used Erasmus's third edition of 1522, but he did not use 1 John 5: 7. For the Old Testament he used the Hebrew Bible printed at Breccia in 1494. He apparently also referred to the Greek Septuagint of the Old Testament, made several centuries before Christ, as found in the Complutensian Polyglot after its publication in 1522, as also he had before him the Latin (Vulgate) translation, made by Jerome toward the close of the fourth century. The Complutensian New Testament, although printed in 1514, was not published till 1522, and was therefore not likely one of his texts for the New Testament of 1522.

*The Luther Bible the Basis of Other German Bibles
and of Bibles in Other Languages*

In another chapter, "The Bible in English," we speak of the influence of Luther's translation upon that of William Tyndale, and through it, as well as more or less directly, upon the later English versions. A few words should therefore be said here of the influence of the Luther Bible upon those of other countries, even including Germany.

Inspired by Luther's great work as a translator, other men undertook the task of translating, or at least of editing and publishing Bibles or parts thereof. Thus even before Luther's Bible in its completed form came off the press in 1534, there appeared in print such Bibles in the German language as the Zurich Bible of 1525-29, finally published complete in 1530; the Worms Bible, 1529; and the Strassburg Bible, 1530. But these simply incorporated, or were based upon, Luther's Bible as far as it had appeared, and added the other part or parts. To these might be added two Bibles even of the same year as that of Luther's Bible, namely, the Frankfort Bible of 1534 and the John Dietenberger Roman Catholic Bible of the same year. But these also were in great measure based upon, and in part bodily taken from Luther's Bible. Indeed, an incomplete Dutch Bible, also based upon the already published parts of Luther's Bible, appeared in print in Antwerp as early as 1526, when all the parts except the Prophets and the Apocrypha of Luther's translation had already been published. All these Bible publications are, however, not regarded as being in the same class as that of Luther's Bible, upon which they were nevertheless largely based, as is true even of those that later appeared in other countries.

Moreover, the Luther Bible was the basis of and heavily underlies the translations in other countries of Europe, especially those of Sweden, Denmark and Iceland, not to speak of those translations that it influenced less directly or only to a somewhat less degree. But, although the story is one of thrilling historical and literary interest, we cannot give even the high points, for want of space.

Luther's Greatness in the Light of History

As we reflect upon Luther's great work as translator of the Bible out of the original Hebrew and Greek, and upon the influence of that translation upon other translations in many lands at the time and through future years and upon the religious outlook of modern times, we marvel at his real greatness in the light of history and at the vast range of his ver-

satility. Indeed, our admiration continues to grow with continued study of this great man of God, whom we are finding more and more to have been a veritable universal genius. We marvel at his prodigious literary output and the genuine catholicity of his teachings, at the timelessness of his outlook upon truth, and at his attitude toward many great world problems.

But I must close this brief study of the Luther Bible, and I shall do so with a further word of appreciation as to the many-sided greatness of its translator. Luther's work as theologian, hymnologist, professor, preacher, writer, controversialist and translator, was of such colossal magnitude that, had it been the united work of a dozen eminent men, it would have made them all forever illustrious in the history of the great men of the world. He was one of those few overtowering personalities that have turned history into totally different channels and forever afterwards dominate the thought of nations. Himself largely the composite product of the century that also produced the Revival of Learning, through the religious Reformation Luther saved that intellectual movement from ending in utter worldliness and infidelity. It was he who, in a real sense, through these two mighty movements, broke the bonds of medievalism and ushered in modern history. His work has in an altogether unique sense endured in the civilization, the liberty and the thought,—no less than in the Church,—of these centuries, and it must continue so to endure. In a real sense, he belongs to the twentieth century as truly as he belonged to the sixteenth, as indeed he will belong to all future time.

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CHAPTER XII

GERMAN VERSIONS SINCE 1534

EVEN while Luther was engaged in his monumental task of translating the Bible into German, between 1521 and 1534, he was constantly going over the completed sections, in order to make improvements wherever he deemed it necessary. In the sessions of his "Sanhedrin," as he humorously called his commission for the revision of the Bible text, he had the assistance of Bugenhagen, Jonas, Cruciger, Melanchthon and Aurogallus, while George Roerer served as secretary or corrector. These men continued to serve after the completion of the translation in 1534, in more or less regular sessions, Roerer noting down many a point which was discussed by the learned doctors, even such suggestions as were not found acceptable for the time being. Luther's own final revision having appeared in 1545, it was this young *Magister* who, in the very year of the great Reformer's death, issued a new edition, thus paving the way for a great host of editors of the Luther Bible.

However, no blame attaches to Roerer, who had been Luther's pupil, corrector and proofreader, and friend of the family, the first clergyman to be ordained by Luther according to the purified rite. Roerer expressly stated that he made changes in words as well as in entire sentences and verses, especially in the Letter to the Romans and in First Corinthians, according to directions received from Luther, for which reason he believed that pious men would certainly be pleased with his work. In spite of this precaution, however, Roerer was bitterly attacked by many rigorous Lutherans, even down to the days of Melchior Goeze, whose work as a collector of Bible editions was the most important feature of his career. That Roerer's work proved most valuable in many instances, has now been generally conceded, as, for example, in 1 Cor. 13: 8, where we offer the following comparisons:

Luther's edition of 1545

*Die Liebe wird nicht
muede; es muessen aufhoern
die Weissagungen und auf-
hoern die Sprachen.*

Edition of 1546

*Die Liebe hoeret nimmer
auf, so doch die Weissagung-
en aufhoeren werden, und
die Sprachen aufhoeren wer-
den und das Erkenntnis
aufhoeren wird.*

The trouble with many of the later revisions and recastings of Luther's translation is to be found chiefly in the fact that the revisers did not have Luther's notes to work with and frequently performed their translating and revising in the interest of false interpretations.

Meanwhile other men had undertaken work in translating the Bible or were so engaged while Luther was busy in perfecting his translation. As early as 1520 Johann Boeschentain, whom Luther in 1518 had persuaded to become teacher of Hebrew at Wittenberg, but who left the University again early in 1519, had published a translation of the Seven Penitential Psalms. This he followed up with a rendering of the Prayer of Solomon, of the Book of Ruth, and of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, efforts which produced some rather crude versions. One of Boeschentain's pupils, Caspar Ammann, issued a translation of the Psalter which clearly shows his dependence upon his teacher, although one will gladly acknowledge Ammann's attempts to render the Hebrew into correct German. In 1524 appeared a translation of the Psalter on the basis of the Septuagint and the Hebrew tongue, the work being done by Ottmar Nachtgall. This translation is likewise very awkward, as are his explanatory notes. Even Johann Lang, the friend of Luther, who introduced him to the Greek language, issued a translation of the Gospel of Matthew. This was in June, 1521, six months before Luther began his work at the Wartburg. But Lang's work proved so inferior to that of Luther that he disregarded the encouraging words of Luther and discontinued his efforts, even insisting upon quoting Luther's translation in preference to his own. Another man, Nicholas Krumpach, showed a great deal of diligence in 1522, for he issued trans-

lations of the Epistles of Peter, of Paul's Letters to Timothy, of that to Titus, and of the Gospel of John. But his work was done on the basis of the Latin translation of the New Testament as prepared by Erasmus and he lacked one of the first requisites of a translator, namely, that of a true comprehension of the text, for which reason his rendering is often stilted and unsatisfactory. The work of other men might be characterized briefly, but since their work is anonymous we shall devote no more space to this phase of our study.

Of much greater interest in our discussion of the field are some of the translations which appeared, at least in part, before Luther had finished his first edition of the complete German Bible. As early as 1527 Hieronymus Emser, secretary of Duke George of Saxony, had issued a (Catholic) translation of the New Testament, which, however, was such a bold plagiarism of Luther's December Testament of 1522 (entire paragraphs being copied verbatim) that Luther spoke in terms of great bitterness of the "bungler" (*Sudler*) of Dresden. Johann Dietenberger, another Catholic scholar, had issued Emser's translation of the New Testament in 1529 and 1532. In 1534, only a few months before his death, he issued the entire Bible, his New Testament being practically that of Emser, his Old Testament being based upon Luther, with changes made according to the Vulgate text, and with the Old Testament Apocrypha taken from the Zurich Bible. The woodcuts of this edition were furnished by Anton Woensam and Hans Sebald Beham. A Catholic translation which did not enjoy great popularity was that furnished by Johann Eck, the well-known opponent of Luther. His work was done on the basis of Emser, but with constant reference to the Vulgate. He used the Bavarian dialect, but his language was so awkward and difficult to understand that Eck's own biographer, Wiedemann, calls it "the worst of all Bible translations in the German language." It was first issued in 1537, but saw only two editions and seven printings, the last being in 1555.

The Dietenberger Bible remained the chief Catholic Bible during the 16th century. But in 1630, while the Thirty Years'

War was ravaging Germany, Caspar Ulenberg of Cologne published a translation of the New Testament, which was frankly made from the Vulgate according to the version of Sixtus V. This translation was received with such favor that, after 1662, when the clergy of Mainz had finished the work of revision, it was commonly regarded as *the* "Catholic" Bible. But other Roman Catholic scholars became interested in translating the Bible into German, so that we have translations by T. A. Erhard (Augsburg, 1722), by the Benedictines of the cloister of Ettenheimmuenster, especially Cartier (Constance, 1751), by I. Weitenauer (Augsburg, 1777-81), by F. Rosalino (Vienna, 1781), by K. H. Seibt (Prague, 1781), by Braun and Feder (1788-1805, continuation of the work from the third edition by J. F. Allioli, Nuremberg, 1830-32), by Brentano (Kempten, 1790-91, revised and continued by Dereser and Scholz, Frankfurt, 1797-1833), by K. and L. van Ess (Sulzbach, 1807-22), and by J. Jaeck (Leipzig, 1847). Other prominent names in this field, chiefly in connection with the New Testament, are C. Fischer, Loch and Reischl, and Kistemaker, whose translation is circulated by the British and Foreign Bible Society, which now also prints Allioli's translation.

In considering translations which were used in Switzerland and in South Germany we are bound to go back to the work of Hans Dengk and Ludwig Haetzer. It was the latter who, in 1526, began the work of translating the Prophets, a task in which he soon enjoyed the assistance of Dengk, so that the so-called "Wormser Propheten" appeared on April 13, 1527. During the next years this work was frequently reprinted, the fact that it antedated the translation of Luther giving it some prestige. Meanwhile the preachers of Zurich issued a complete Bible in six parts (1525-9), using Luther's work as far as available and adding their own rendering of the prophets. The Old Testament Apocrypha they took from the translation by Leo Judæ, whose rendering represents a rather commendable effort, and the first Zurich Bible appeared in 1530. (A Bible had been published in Zurich in 1470). The noted scholar Georg Wolfgang Panzer coined the term "composite Bible" for

such translations as combine parts of Luther's work with that of other men. The edition of 1531 has an introduction which has been ascribed to Zwingli. This Swiss or Alemannic Bible, with a new translation of the poetical books of the Old Testament, was re-edited in 1548 and became the basis of later editions. Breitingen undertook a revision in 1629, and further work of this nature was done by a *Collegium Biblicum* in 1817, 1860, 1868 and 1882, with a new revision of the New Testament and the Psalms in 1893.

The Anabaptist or Worms Bible in the Reformed sections of Germany and the Zurich Bible in the Reformed parts of Switzerland were fairly generally acknowledged, so that no further work of this nature was undertaken till the beginning of the seventeenth century, when J. Piscator published a complete translation (Herborn, 1602). This is called the "Straf mich Gott" Bible, because it renders the passage Mark 8, 12: "Wann disem geschlecht ein zaichen wirdt gegeben werden, so straffe mich Gott." The translation was used in many parts of South Germany, and its various merits caused it to be introduced in the Canton Berne in 1684. The *Berleburg Bible* (1726-42) was prepared in the interest of mysticism, while the so-called *Wertheim Bible* (1735) served the objects of rationalism. Other translations made in German-speaking countries were those of Michaelis (1769 and 1790), of Moldenhauer (1774 and 1787-8), of Grynæus (1776-7), of Griesinger (1824), of De Wette and Augusti (1809-14), of Bunsen (1858-70), of Weizsäcker, of Bertholet, and others, the list being too long for inclusion at this point. Still longer is the list of men who translated the New Testament alone, from the days of Reitz (1703) to those of Holtzmann and Wiese, the work of many of these men being worthy of careful study.

It is necessary, at this point, to refer also to translations into German dialects and related languages besides the Bavarian and Swiss already mentioned. The oldest Low German Bibles followed Luther exactly. There is a copy from the year 1523, *Dath Nyge Testament tho dude*, printed by Melchior Lotther the Younger in Wittenberg. In 1526 another edition appeared

in Wittenberg, while *Dat Nye Testament Duedesch* of Johann Bugenhagen was published in 1529, with another edition in 1533. The Old Testament appeared in three parts, the first part being printed by Michael Lotther in Wittenberg in 1528, the second by the same printer in Magdeburg in 1533, where the third part with the Psalms likewise was published in 1533. Just as soon as Luther's Bible appeared in the German of the Saxon chancery, Johannes Hoddersen provided a Low German translation, the printing being done by Ludowich Dietz in Lübeck in 1533 and issued in 1534. This edition is profusely and beautifully illustrated by Erhard Altdorfer. One of the last, if not the final edition of the Low German Bible is one which bears the title: *Biblia, Dat ys: De gantze hillige Schrift Sassisch*, bearing the imprint: *Lueneborch, Johann und Hinrick Stern, 1521*. Wahl says that the last printing of the Low German Bible took place in Goslar, the printer being Johann Vogt. Of the Netherland or Dutch translations the following are the most notable: *Den bibel int corte ghetranslateert vuten latijnen ende vvalschen*, Antwerpen, 1513; *Dat heylich Euangelium . . . des gheheelen nyeuwen Testaments*, Antwerpen, Hans von Roemundt, 1525; *Den Bibel, Inhoudende dat Oude ende Nieuwe Testament*, Emden, Nicolæ Biestkens, 1564, and the Dutch translation made in agreement with the resolutions of the Synod of Dordrecht, published at Leyden in 1636.

Space will not permit more than a mere mention of German translations made for use in Bohemia, Austria, Russia, also the various translations into Yiddish, which have recently been investigated by Birnbaum and others. The work done by German missionaries in translating the Bible for use in the mission fields requires a chapter for itself, for the efforts along this line were begun by Ziegenbalg shortly after he and Plütschau landed in India in 1706, and has been continued to the present day. Of special interest to Americans is the first German Bible printed here: *Biblia, Das ist: Die Heilige Schrift . . . Mit Summarien*. Germantown: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1743.

One of the largest and most successful agencies for propagating the German Bible was the *Canstein Bibelanstalt*. It is true that, before 1534, the German New Testament had appeared in 17 original editions and in 52 reprints and that, during the lifetime of Luther, the whole Bible and its various parts was printed 253 times in Germany alone (by 1580 there were 38 editions of the whole Bible), Hans Lufft of Wittenberg alone, between 1534 and 1574, printing and selling about 100,000 copies. But when Karl Hildebrand von Canstein (1667-1719), began to disseminate the German Bible, in 1716, he laid the foundation of an institution which grew to tremendous proportions. Before Canstein's death about 100,000 New Testaments and 40,000 entire Bibles had been issued; by the end of the 18th century almost three million copies of the Bible and of the New Testament; and by the end of the year 1873 a total of 5,851,105 Bibles, Testaments and Psalters, including the Bohemian and the Polish Bibles. The Canstein text is regarded as the *textus receptus* of the German Bible, not only because millions of its Bibles were distributed in Germany, Russia and other European countries, as well as in America, but also because the British and Foreign Bible Society has made it the basis of its editions.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE BIBLE IN DANISH

WE know nothing about the earliest translations of the Bible into the Danish language except that at least certain selections from the Old Testament as well as from the New Testament were translated and used at the Sunday services in the Roman Catholic churches. Unfortunately they have entirely disappeared; they would have been valuable for the study of the development of the Danish language.

We know of them because Bishop Henrik Stangeberg, who died in 1465, admonished the priests in his diocese to read in Danish the Epistle and Gospel Lessons as part of the regular Sunday service.

It was nevertheless also in Denmark that the Reformation gave to the people the Bible in their mother tongue.

The Danish king Christian II was a friend of the Reformation and when he had to leave his country as a refugee (1523) some of his friends who followed him wanted to further the cause of the Reformation in Denmark as well as the cause of the exiled king by publishing a translation of the New Testament. Hans Mikkelsen, a former mayor of the city of Malmo, and Dr. Kristian Winther took upon themselves the task of translating the New Testament from the Latin text of the Vulgate and Luther's German translation. The translation was published in Leipzig in 1524. Hans Mikkelsen and his associates had unfortunately a very poor command of the Danish language and it was, therefore, as one of its critics said, "neither German nor Danish." In a preface Hans Mikkelsen defended King Christian II and his politics and attacked in vehement language the king's enemies and the translation was consequently banned in Denmark. The preface and the picture of Christian II, a fine woodcut by Lucas Cranach, was then omitted in later copies sent to Denmark and the translation became so popular that it was sold out in a few years.

In 1528 a translation of the Psalms of David was published by two Carmelites, Paul Helgesen and Franz Wormorsen; the latter became a Lutheran minister in Malmo in 1529.

The ready sale of the Christian II New Testament, although it was so poor, induced the distinguished scholar, Christian Pedersen, to risk a new translation. His aim was to publish a translation in a language that really could be understood by every Dane, and not simply give a literal translation. This translation was published in Antwerp in 1529. A second edition of it appeared, in 1532. In 1531 he also published a metrical version of the Psalms of David.

Christian Pedersen was a master of the Danish language, the father of modern Danish literature; he really created the Danish literary language just as Luther created modern German.

In 1531 he left Holland with his printed material and all his types and in 1532 we find him established in Malmo under the protection of the Danish king. While here he published many historical books and also a Danish hymn book.

Hans Tausen, one of the leading reformers in Denmark, tried his hand as a translator and published a translation of the five books of Moses from the Hebrew text into a forceful and natural Danish; this work was published in Magdeburg in 1535.

Bishop Peder Palladius translated the Gospels and Epistles that were read at the Sunday services.

All this was preliminary work. The Lutheran Church in Denmark, established in 1537, was still waiting for a translation of the whole Bible.

This important work was first entrusted to Hans Tausen, but the Danish king Christian III decided that it would be better to appoint a committee to collaborate with Christian Pedersen because he already in 1543 had finished a translation of the whole Bible. As members of the committee the king appointed the Bishop in Copenhagen, Peder Palladius, two professors from the University, Dr. Johannes Machabæus,

Magister Niels Hemmingsen, and two ministers, Hans Henriksen and Peder Tidemand.

The committee worked diligently for five years and the king showed a personal interest in the progress of the work. In 1548 the translation was ready for the printer; it was a monumental work of the greatest importance, not alone for the Lutheran Church in Denmark, but for the development of the Danish literary language.

No printer in Denmark was able to undertake the task of printing the Bible and the work was entrusted to the able printer Ludvig Dietz in Rostock, who previously, in 1534, had printed Bugenhagen's Low German Bible. His contract with the Danish King called for 3,000 copies; Dietz was to furnish the material and the men, while the paper was imported from Holland.

Dietz came to Copenhagen in 1548 and in the short time of eighteen months the Bible was printed, 1,104 folio pages, and ready for binding; this was entrusted to a bookbinder, Paul Knobloch, from Lübeck, who came to Denmark with his own men and material.

The edition was now distributed to the churches which had paid the Bible money, the price of a good steer, and only a few copies came into private hands.

The stately folio is illuminated by rather amusing illustrations made by the German artist, Erhard Altdorfer, who adorned all the Biblical personalities with the costumes of the 16th century.

An excellent portrait of the Danish king, drawn by an able artist, Jacob Binch, was inserted after the beautiful title page.

Every parish church in Denmark and Norway was supposed to own a copy and the minister held responsible for its proper care. The dampness of the churches, none of which were heated, destroyed the copies in a comparatively short time. Consequently very few are preserved. A very fine copy can be seen in the Morgan Library in New York. There is a copy in the library of the University of Chicago and in the library of Luther College, Decorah, Iowa.

This translation served the Christian people in Denmark

for centuries and many reprints have appeared up to as late as the 19th century. A new and revised edition of Christian III's Bible was published in 1589, the so-called Frederick II Bible, also a folio. The need for an edition that was easier to handle and less expensive than these editions encouraged Hans Aalborg and Nicolaus Swabe in 1603 to ask for permission to publish a new translation. The work was later entrusted to the distinguished theologian Hans Paulsen Resen, who for the first time translated the Bible into Danish from the original languages. The former translations were all based upon the text of Erasmus' Latin translation or Luther's German Bible. This translation was so scholarly that it was unsuitable for use in the churches and a new revised edition was therefore published in 1633.

The need for a better translation was apparent, although Bishop Hans Svane had revised the Resen translation in 1647 and the Danish king Christian the Fifth wanted to add to his own glory by having a new translation published. The preliminary work of this translation was done by Bishop Hans Bagger, but was never finished. When the Bishop published the Altarbook in 1688 he incorporated his own translation in this book as the text of the pericopes.

A revision of Svane's Bible was carried out by the directors of the College of Mission, an institution founded in 1714 and enjoying the privilege of printing and selling Bibles, was published in 1717.

A century later this Bible translation was adopted by the British and Foreign Bible Society as the text of their publication of a Danish Bible; the first one appeared in 1829 in London, a reprint of a 1732 edition omitting the Apocrypha as well as the notes and references to parallel passages to the Apocrypha.

In 1740, by royal command, a committee began to revise the College of Mission Bible of 1717 and an edition of the Gospels and the Acts was published in 1742. The whole of the New Testament was finished in 1748. A new revision was made in 1819 and has been in general use up to the present time.

The awakening of the spiritual life in Denmark in the 19th century brought forth several new translations.

Jacob Christian Lindberg, a disciple of N. F. S. Grundtvig, published his translation in 1837.

In 1881 Prof. Axel Sorensen rendered the New Testament in the modern spoken language. He realized that the Greek language used in the New Testament is the language of the layman and not a special solemn Biblical language, not even the literary language of that time. His translation is quite often more of a paraphrase than a translation, especially of the Epistles.

His aim was, as he expresses himself in the introduction, "to render the thoughts of the original in such a way that no Dane could misunderstand them. It should not be felt that it was a translation. It is the duty of a translator through the medium of his own language to create the same ideas in his countrymen as the author through his language created in his."

Bishop Dr. T. Skat Rørdam translated the New Testament in 1886. He retained as much as possible of the traditional Danish Biblical language and used the better Greek text that had been established by modern scholarship; his translation became very popular.

In 1897 another translation of the New Testament was published by Bishop A. S. Poulsen and Dr. J. L. Ussing. Prof. Franz Buhl, the well-known Hebrew scholar, translated the Old Testament with the assistance of others. In this translation, published in 1910, he did not use the Masoretic text but the reconstructed text furnished by modern scholarship.

A new and excellent translation of the whole Bible, authorized to be read in the churches, was made by a royal commission consisting of the most prominent Danish scholars and published in 1931. It will undoubtedly serve the Danish church for many generations.

The Danish Bible Society was formed in 1814 and did much for the promulgation of the Bible. The Royal Danish Orphan Home, Waisenhuset, in Copenhagen, founded in 1727, has the privilege of printing and selling the authorized editions.

Danes have also translated the Bible into the Eskimo language. The first translation consisted of only selections from the Bible and was made by Paul Hansen Egede, who died in 1759, a son of the first missionary to Greenland, the Norwegian minister, Hans Egede.

J. C. Kleinschmidt translated the New Testament into the Eskimo language in 1827, and the whole Bible was translated by Samuel Kleinschmidt, and after his death completed by Chr. Rasmussen and J. Kjer and published in Copenhagen from 1893 to 1900.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE BIBLE IN SWEDISH

THE history of Bible translations in Sweden begins with the earlier part of the 14th century. In the time of St. Bridget (1303-1373), but before 1350, Canon Mattias of Linköping, who was her confessor and the foremost theologian of Sweden in those times, translated certain parts of the New Testament, as, for instance, the Book of Revelation, which he also provided with a commentary for the use of his pupils. From St. Bridget's writings it appears that he also translated the Pentateuch and some of the Psalms. Joshua and Judges were translated by Nils Ragvaldson some time before the close of the same century, while Jens Budde of Nådendal's monastery in Finland translated several of the Apochryphal books at about the same time.

All these translations and commentaries were based on the Vulgate and were edited and published by the royal librarian, G. E. Klemming, of Stockholm, 1848-1855.

In 1526 there appeared at Stockholm the first edition of the first complete Swedish translation of the New Testament in beautiful print and on splendid paper. It was a good translation which even today must be considered as a masterpiece of its time. It was printed at the Royal printing press established by the king the same year. On the last page of it there is the following inscription: "Prentat i Stockholm år efter guds byrd MDXXVI på femtonde dagh Augusti." Under this there is a cut of the newly adopted national coat-of-arms. Only six copies of this edition are now known to exist, and of these the two most perfect are found, one in the Royal Library of Stockholm and the other in the University Library of Upsala, the "*Carolina Rediviva*." The book bore no name of the translator or translators, but since the complete and satisfactory evidences brought out in 1891 by Prof. J. H. Schück and later by the university librarian, Aksel Anderson, it is well proved that

Olaus Petri, the great reformer of the Church of Sweden, was the translator and that he was assisted by Laurentius Andreae, "Mäster Lars," the great Archdeacon and fellow-reformer of Olaus Petri.

The translation was made from the lately edited Greek text of Erasmus, with the evident aid of his revision of the Vulgate as well as of Luther's German translation of 1522. Erick Stave's work, "An Essay on the Sources of the New Testament Version of 1526," is of great service in the study of this matter.

Later, the whole Bible was translated under the supervision of Laurentius Petri, the brother of Olaus Petri and Archbishop of Sweden, 1531-1573, who had it published at Stockholm in 1540-1541. Its text is very similar to that of Luther's complete Bible translation of 1534. It is well done and was the actual Church Bible of Sweden for nearly 400 years, or till 1917. As such it was supplanted only in 1917. The Bible of 1703, which is called "Charles XII's Bible" and the Church Bible of Sweden, was just a new edition of the 1540-41 Bible, as far as the text itself is concerned. Ordinarily it is known by the name "Gustaf Wasa:s Kyrkobibel."

Improvements were constantly made, however, especially with regard to the helps added and to the parallel passages. Two of these later editions are called by the name of the kings reigning when they were published. The first one of these was published at Stockholm in 1618 from the printing office of Oloff Oloffson and is called "Gustaf II Adolf:s Kyrkobibel," that is, "The Church Bible of Gustavus Adolphus." It is an edition quite free from misprints, with a number of good illustrations; the text is the same as that of 1540-1541.

Very much the same can be said about the great edition of 1703, and as just stated, commonly known as "Karl XII:s Kyrkobibel," "The Church Bible of Charles XII." A special committee for this work was appointed by Charles XI in 1691 consisting of Israel Kolmodin, Jesper Svedberg, Magnus Rönnow and Erik Benzelius, the chairman, to whom Charles XII, in 1698, gave order "to hurry up with the work and have it published soon."

This Bible when issued in 1703 bore the following title: "Biblia, Thet är All then Heliga Skrift på Svensko efter Carl Then Tolfstes Befalning. Medh förriga editioner jämnförd: Summarier och Marginalier ånyo Översedde samt medh Concordantier och anmärckningar förökade: Nya register och Biblisk Tidräkning inrättade. Medh Knogl. Majt:s Allernådigste Privilegium. Stockholm 1703."

This is a wonderfully well printed Bible, which is provided with all the helps needed for an intelligent study of the Word of God, and as such it became the standard for general use, remaining such until our own days. In Sweden it had a place similar to that of the Authorized Version of the English Bible of 1611. It was a great Bible and well fitted for its divine purpose. The text, however, was identical with that of 1540-1541 and contained very few misprints. The helps are rich and similar to those mentioned in connection with those of Gustaf II Adolf's Bible.

However, there soon came a time when new demands for improvements were made. New discoveries in the field of the ancient texts, new tenets in Biblical study, and leading men within the Church as well as with many of the public at large wanted a Bible with contents and language abreast of the advance in culture and education. Finally, Gustavus III, King of Sweden, 1771-1792, in 1773 appointed a Bible Commission consisting of 21 of the leading men in the field of Biblical science, with Bishop Magnus Beronius chairman. However, Beronius soon died, and after him Bishop K. F. Menander of Åbo was appointed to take his place.

At the opening of the Church bicentennial of the former Diet of Upsala, in 1793, this Commission, which perhaps had not worked as harmoniously as it might have done under more personally congenial circumstances, presented a new translation of the entire Bible, which, however, was not accepted but returned to the Commission for further improvements. It was considered too rationalistic.

But the work was continued and several parts of the Old Testament published from time to time till in 1841 the Com-

mission was reorganized in connection with the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the first edition of the Swedish Bible published in 1541.

Already in 1853 another trial version of the New Testament was ready, which also was returned to the Commission by the Church authority for other desired changes and improvements.

In 1861 the Commission submitted another proof translation of the New Testament, which, though highly praised, was not accepted but kept on file till 1868, when it was returned to the translators by the First Church Diet of the kingdom for revision. At this time new members were again added to the Commission, as had been done before, and the work was zealously continued, especially by H. G. Lindgren, C. A. Toren and H. M. Melin, who already in 1873 presented a new translation of high critical value and based on the latest investigations of textual discoveries and criticism. The final edition of Tischendorf's Greek text had been used, and it can be said that this was the most outstanding effort in favor of modern scholarship which ever appeared in Sweden before the translation was finally accepted in 1917.

This translation was eagerly received and read by all concerned, but as might be expected, it met with opposition from many of the Church leaders and was refused as too radical. The members of the Commission naturally felt wounded, but nevertheless continued their labor though on more conservative lines, and five years later they again presented a translation of the New Testament which won the favor of many. But the Church authorities, as before, refused to accept it. It was fine, but this time not critical enough.

The Old Testament also had been worked over since 1868, when the previous proof translation was offered and returned. Likewise, now in 1878 it was presented to the Diet, which considered it the best piece of work of the kind done in Sweden up to this time. It was highly spoken about, but not accepted. It was published, however, for use in Church and schools *ad interim*, and now the attention was again turned to the New Testament. In 1883 the Commission was ready with a proof,

which earned high praise and was accepted to be used like the one of 1878. By the interested public this action was greeted with joy, and the two translations were then used with great satisfaction side by side.

The Bible translation period in Sweden from 1883 to 1917, however, must be presented somewhat more in detail since it is the most important and interesting period in the work of the Royal Commission since its creation in 1773.

The Bible Commission of 1883, now strengthened by some new members, continued its work in the first place with the Old Testament books. These were published in parts from 1893 to 1898, when the Old Testament was submitted as a whole to the Church Diet which met that year. This translation was perfectly modern and had taken little or no account of the one of 1878. Highly commended and praised it was again turned back to the commission for further revision, and again the work went on as before. The commission now consisted of Archbishop Sundberg, together with Professors Tegner and Rudin, all of whom were great authorities in their line: Tegner in the Old Testament and Rudin in the New, while the Archbishop served as final supervisor. These men already in 1903 were able to present the entire Old Testament with its new improvements, and it was received with satisfaction by all interested, and was recommended "to be used for instruction in Church and school," just as the New Testament of 1883 had been. Bound together these two translations, that of the New Testament of 1883 and of the Old Testament of 1903, were now made known as the Normal Editions. Yet they were very different in scope. The New Testament of 1883 was translated from the later and longer Greek texts, while the Old Testament of 1903 was fully abreast with modern scholarship on textual lines. The New Testament must therefore be retranslated and brought out in a manner equal to that of the Old. The same Commission was to do it, but with Dean J. Personne as secretary and Lector O. V. Knös as textual censor. They decided to use the Greek text of the New Testament as edited by Eberhard Nestle, whose editions are based upon Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort.

Hence they followed the two oldest Greek codices (*Sinaiticus* and *Vaticanus*) using their own judgment as to readings, etc. This translation was ready in 1907 and received with enthusiasm both by the Church Diet and the reading public.

Still it also was criticized. It was considered by many as too critical, especially with regard to its eliminations, being made from the shorter texts as it was, and too paraphrastic in its literary form and interpretation. So it was again referred back to the same Commission, which was augmented by several new members as censors and final revisers. Among these were J. A. Edman, a lector in Luleå, who had published an excellent and independent Swedish translation of the New Testament in 1900. After five years the Commission was ready with another proof of the New Testament, which was placed before the Church Diet of 1912. It was now adopted as the New Testament part of the coming Swedish Church Bible, and all were pleased that the work seemed to near its close. But both it and the Old Testament translation of 1903 were again to be reviewed before being presented to the next Diet, which convened in 1917, when the entire revision was finally accepted and recommended to the king for his authorization. This was given on October 2, 1917, and Sweden had received a new Church Bible after a constant work in the several Bible Commissions for 140 years.

From that day this translation replaced all others in the land, and it is worthy so to do; for however viewed, philologically, textually, historically and even theologically, it is the most perfect translation of all those which have been made in Sweden. And more than that, it is one of the best, most dependable and readable of all the translations of the Bible made anywhere or in any country.

Yet works of this kind are really never finished. New paleographical, archaeological and textual discoveries are being made right along, demanding attention. Linguistic studies are going on. Theological views are modified and new efforts are called for to make use of all this for the Church. Still, the splendid translation of 1917 will continue to serve as the Church Bible of Sweden for a long time, as the previous one

had done. The more it is used and becomes known, the more it will be loved, just as is the case with the English Bible of 1611. That private translations of books or of the whole Bible will appear from time to time, one may take for granted, just as they have done in the past for similar reasons: studies and theological tendencies.

Private Translations

Private translations of the Bible as a whole or of certain of its parts have appeared, especially in the last century, and of these the following are the most conspicuous.

In 1835 and later, Dr. and Bishop Thomander published the New Testament in a scholarly translation with brief explanations.

In 1859-1866 Professor H. M. Melin, at the University of Lund, revised and edited the whole Bible in a splendid form, with a good historical commentary. This work has been much used, especially by the clergy, and continues to be so.

In 1863 three lectors of Greek in certain colleges, Elmlblad, Falk and Lövenhjelm, published a translation of high merit and practical value, which in former years was much used.

In 1890 Prof. Myrberg of the University of Upsala published a fine translation of the New Testament. He also made translations of several of the Old Testament books, especially the Psalter, the Wisdom Books, and some of the Prophets. Myrberg was a great scholar, though of the Beckian type.

In 1886 Lector Peter Paul Waldenström published a strictly exegetical translation of the New Testament with extensive commentaries. Waldenström was the leader of the Free Church movement in Sweden.

In 1900 Lector J. A. Edman of Luleå published a translation of the New Testament which is considered a masterpiece of scholarship. Edman later was a member of the Bible Commission.

These are the most important private translations which have appeared in Sweden. Others of individual books or groups have been published from time to time in connection with personal

interests, but of these information will have to be sought in bibliographical lists and encyclopædias.

The Apocrypha

These also have been published twice during the time of the Bible Commissions: once in 1869 and the second time in 1921, and then as final part of the Authorized Version of 1917. The present Archbishop of Sweden, E. Eidem, did most of the work for this translation, a work of high merit.

Dialect Translations

There are provincial dialects in Sweden, but differing so little from the real stem as to create no need for a special vocabulary or printed interpretation. Consequently there is only one written language in the land, and no translation of the Bible exists in any so-called dialect. There is, however, a part of Sweden with a different race of people, and thus with a language of its own, namely, that of Lapland and the Lapps.

The Lapps are a branch of the Finnish race, of small stature and of slow intelligence. They live in the northernmost part of Europe at the extreme of Norway, Sweden and Finland. Politically they also belong to these countries. Those living along Archangel belong to Russia. Their language is cognate with that of the Finns, though of a smaller vocabulary and of several different dialectual forms.

In the beginning of the 17th century the Laplanders seem to have been wholly ignorant of letters, and did not possess a single written book in their language. In his early reign the great king, Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden, started to establish schools for the instruction of the Lapps, and a primer was published with part of its text taken from the Bible such as the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. Shortly after certain books of the Holy Scriptures were translated into Lappish, and finally the whole New Testament was ready for print. In 1775 it was printed and published, and in 1811 the whole Bible was published at Hernösand under the supervision of the Consistory of the Cathedral. Since then reprints have

been made as often as needed, for the Lapps want to read the Bible, while improvements have been made in the translation right along.

But there are also several other countries and nations, formerly connected with Sweden as its dependencies, for longer or shorter periods, which received translations of the Bible as a whole or in part during those times through the order and support of the home country. These were especially the Finnish, Esthonian and the Latvian.

Finland formerly constituted one of the five large divisions of Sweden to which it had belonged for several hundred years, but in 1809 it was totally lost to Russia. The Finns were converted to Christianity in the middle of the 12th century, and to the Roman Catholic faith. Soon after the introduction of the Reformation into their country the New Testament was translated into the Finnish language by Michael Agricola, 1510-1557, a student at Wittenberg and of Luther's and bishop of Åbo. In 1548, with the support of King Gustavus Vasa of Sweden, he published the New Testament which he had translated into the Finnish, and then, from time to time, several books of the Old Testament. In 1642 the entire Bible was published in Finnish by E. Peträus, M. Stadius, H. Hoffman, and G. Favorinus. The work was well received and new editions were published as needed, especially one by Lizelius in 1758, which was largely revised. A new translation by A. W. Ingman appeared in 1859, which since that time has been edited by later scholars and published many times under the authority of the Church of Finland.

Esthonia, the next in order of the Baltic states, was held by Sweden from 1561 to 1710, when it was annexed by Czar Peter the Great. The language of the Esthonians is spoken in two main dialects, the Dorpat and the Reval Esthonian, and into both of these the Bible was translated during the time the country remained a Swedish possession. John Fischer, a learned general superintendent of Livonia, published the first Esthonian version of the New Testament in the year 1686. This was done at the request of Charles XI of Sweden and at his ex-

pense. In 1689 the Old Testament, translated by the same man with some help of other scholars, was also ready to print, and Esthonia has its own Bible.

The Lettish and Livonian translation was at first made by Ernest Glueck, who published the New Testament at Riga in 1685 and the whole Bible in 1689. Later this work was revised and re-edited especially by John Fischer, who dedicated it to Charles XI of Sweden, who had requested its publication and by whom all expenses connected with this enterprise were paid.

Thus the government of Sweden, together with the ecclesiastical authorities, always provided for the earliest translations of the Bible into the various languages of its possessions. It was also Gustavus II Adolphus who founded the great university of Dorpat, a center of Protestant learning and piety from that time till now.

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CHAPTER XV

THE BIBLE IN ICELANDIC

THE Norwegians began to settle Iceland in 874. In the year 1000 Christianity was, by an Act of Althing (Parliament), made the state religion. In 1056 Iceland had a native bishop. This marks also the beginning of schools in Iceland. From that time to the sixteenth century it remained a Roman Catholic country. During that time, as might be expected, there was not much Bible translating in Iceland. During the fourteenth century "some of the historical portions of the Scriptures were made into the language of the people." Apart from that, not much was done.

About 1530, vibrations from the Lutheran Reformation in Germany began to reach Iceland. At that time, there were two bishops in the country, one at Hólar in the northern part and the other at Skálholt in the south. The movement reached the southern bishopric first. Some gifted young men from there went for study to Norway, Denmark and Germany. One of these was a jurist by the name of Oddur Gottskálksson. Although he was a son of a former bishop of Hólar, he seems at this time to have resided in the southern bishopric. In Germany he became an "ardent disciple of the Reformation," and came into personal contact with Luther and Melancthon. He came back to his native country "inspired with reforming zeal." The bishop at Skálholt was an uncompromising Romanist, and just then Gottskálksson did not think it wise to declare himself a Lutheran. He was determined, however, to translate the New Testament into Icelandic. To accomplish his purpose, in secret, while he resided at Skálholt, he had a place prepared for himself out in the cow stable, claiming it was warmer there than in the livingroom of the house, and pretending that he was reading old Icelandic literature and transcribing church documents. There he actually began his work of translating the New Testament and carried it on for some time, until his secret was

discovered. Then he was expelled from the bishop's home. He found another place of residence and there completed his work in peace. He had his book published at Roskilde in Denmark in 1540. This was the first book printed in Icelandic. A copy of this book is found in the library of Cornell University, possibly the only copy on the American continent. Very recently it has been reprinted in Iceland in a very fine edition.

The next epoch-making event in this story is the publication of the whole Bible at Hólar in 1584. Gudbrandur Thorláksson was bishop there, 1571-1627, a man of untiring energy, fine scholarship, and thorough devotion to his church. A printing press had been purchased by the last Roman Catholic bishop of Iceland, Jón Arason at Hólar. This old and, no doubt, very imperfect press was now bought by Bishop Thorláksson and greatly improved. He sent a man to Copenhagen to learn the art of printing, and another to Hamburg to learn bookbinding. He published a large number of religious books, but his most important publication was the Bible.

Most of the translating was done by the bishop himself. He succeeded in producing "a faithful mirror of Luther's German version." It was so well done that some of its readings were adopted in the last version of the Icelandic Bible in preference to intervening recensions. Of course, Gottskálksson's New Testament was made use of, but both the spelling and the language of Thorláksson's work are more modern than those of the older work.

The printing of this book is also remarkably fine for that age and locality. The beautiful capitals are said to have been carved in wood by the bishop himself, who is known to have been a man of splendid mechanical ability. Several copies of this Bible are still in existence both in Iceland and in America. The book is generally referred to by Icelanders as "Gudbrandar Biblia."

After the publication of this book there is no Icelandic Bible translation of outstanding importance until the revision, already referred to, at the end of the nineteenth century. In most of the intervening editions it is stated that some revising

has been done. The New Testament published at Videyjarklemstur in Iceland, in 1827, claims to be a new translation. In general, however, it may be safely said that all editions of the Icelandic Bible from 1584 to 1899 are reprints or revisions.

It should be mentioned here that now for more than a century two societies have been the greatest factors in the distribution, the revisions, the publication, and the translations of the Icelandic Bible. One of these is the British and Foreign Bible Society. Its connection with the Icelandic Bible had its beginning in the acquaintance of an Englishman, Rev. Ebenezer Henderson, with Icelandic affairs and needs, in Copenhagen in the year 1805. Through him these needs were brought to the attention of this society, which gave substantial aid to the publication of an Icelandic New Testament in 1807. In 1813 the society published the whole Bible. This society has not only published Icelandic Bibles and Testaments, but has also donated fairly large sums of money to the cost of translating and publishing them.

The other society is the Icelandic Bible Society, which was organized in July, 1815, through the efforts of Rev. Henderson, above referred to, when he was on a visit to Iceland. It has worked independently and also in conjunction with the British and Foreign Bible Society.

At the annual meeting of this latter society, presided over by Bishop Hallgrímur Sveinsson, held June 30th, 1897, in Reykjavík, it was reported that the executive had already made arrangements to undertake the work of a new revision of the Icelandic Bible, such a revision as would amount to a new translation from the original languages. To this end they had engaged the services of a young man, a graduate in theology from the University of Copenhagen, the Icelander Haraldur Nielsson, particularly for the work of translating the Old Testament. A committee of three men, Bishop Sveinsson; Steingrímur Thorsteinsson, dean of the college; and the president of the Theological Seminary, Thórhallur Bjarnarson, who later became bishop of Iceland.

This work had commenced before the year was over and was pursued with great vigor and painstaking care until it was completed. The committee had long weekly meetings with the main translator, at which careful comparisons were made of possible renderings. The first example of this work was the publication of the Book of Genesis in 1899, with an introduction by Bishop Sveinsson. This specimen of the new translation produced a favorable impression on Icelandic scholars.

In the meantime work was commenced on the New Testament, and from that time on the two groups worked simultaneously. The New Testament was translated by the theological teachers in Reykjavik. The president, Rev. Bjarnarson, translated the Gospel of Mark and the Acts; Rev. Jon Helgason, the present bishop of Iceland, translated Matthew and John as well as Romans and Corinthians; and Rev. Eirikur Briem, the Gospel of Luke. Other portions were divided among these teachers. Specimens of their work were published from time to time, the first of these being the Gospel of Mark in 1900. These specimens evoked some criticism and possibly led to some changes in the final revision. The complete Bible was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1908. It was printed in Reykjavik and bound in England.

On the whole the last revision is a satisfactory piece of work. There is no doubt that the Old Testament is remarkably well done. There may not be universal agreement as to the suitability of some of the Icelandic expressions in the New Testament, but that the Greek text has been correctly understood and rendered all admit. So Icelanders are happy to acknowledge that they now have a well translated Bible.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE BIBLE IN NORWEGIAN

THE Norwegian translation of the Bible as it is presented in the Revised Version of 1930, officially accepted by the Church of Norway, is the crowning effort of an array of scholars that reaches back through twenty-three generations. In recording the various editions, it is a matter of interest as well as gratitude to give the names of the translators wherever this is possible, especially because the Norwegian Version of 1930 is, of all Church Bibles that are direct translations from the Hebrew and the Greek, one of the most up-to-date, from the viewpoint of philological and theological scholarship.

The Middle Ages

The first known translation of the Bible into Norwegian, when this language still was Old Norse and unaffected by the Danish tongue, goes back to about 1220, in the reign of Haakon IV. It is not known whether this version comprised the entire Bible or the entire Old Testament only. Extant is the portion from Exodus 2: 19 to the close of Kings. It was based on the Vulgate. At times it is very exact in its renderings, and again it presents considerable of the matter in summaries. The famous Icelandic scholar, Finnur Jonsson, calls it a masterly translation and says it is a joy to read it. Bishop A. Christian Bang avers that no other Christian country could compare in those times with Norway in possessing such an outstanding translation in the vernacular.

The second known earliest Norwegian Bible translation has been called the Version of Haakon V. It was written about 1310, and includes all of Genesis and the first eighteen chapters of Exodus. The work is both a translation and an explanation. It usually sets off the text in divisions, each division having an explanation appended. It, too, follows the Vulgate. In the

explanatory parts it uses sources like *Historia Scholastica*, written by Petrus Comestor (d. 1178), and the comprehensive *Speculum Historiale*, by Vicentius of Beauvais (d. 1264), both Frenchmen. This translation, like its predecessor, was much admired by the contemporary age. Haakon V planned it, and Brand Jonson, one of his priests, seems to have made the translation, which was called *Stjorn* (guidance, dispensation [of God]). It was edited and published, with some omissions, however, in 1862, by Professor C. R. Unger, of the University of Oslo.

From the Age of the Reformation to 1816

Proud as Norway was of these two remarkable monuments in the language of her people at a time when Latin was the tongue of the learned, she was soon humbled by the linguistic changes imposed upon her by her union with Denmark, changes accelerated by the introduction of the Lutheran Reformation. The literary vehicle of this movement in Norway was Danish, so difficult to understand for the Norwegian in those times. Consequently the religiously creative forces of the Reformation asserted themselves slowly in Norway and left the Norwegian people rather much a semi-Catholic people until its national emancipation in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

For about two hundred and fifty years, during the union of Norway with Denmark, the Bible of the Norwegians was the Danish so-called "Christian III's Bible" of 1550, together with its minor, extremely conservative revisions. Because of its language it remained to a large extent a sealed book. Moreover, the average man could not read; and if he could, he did not possess money enough to buy a book so expensive as the Bible in those days. Even many of the churches of the land did not possess a Bible. As Professor Johannes Johnson has well said in "Hellig Ild" (1917): "Seventeen, almost eighteen centuries passed before the mass of Christians could read. And only a few decades ago did it become possible for everybody to obtain the New Testament in a readable, inexpensive translation. Not before our own times has the great public become a reading public."

Sporadic efforts were indeed made in Norway to spread the Written Word. Especially did a group of seven ministers in Romsdal, headed by Thomas von Westen (1682-1727) and known as Syvstjerne (septentrion), work hard in the spirit of Pietism in distributing, at their own expense, Bibles, hymnals, catechisms, and other devotional writings which they bought and disposed of by the thousands. But this did not materially change the attitude of the Norwegian people toward the Danish Bible, though their language was steadily being devernacularized in behalf of that of Denmark, in whose university the ministers of Norway had been and were obliged to get their training, and in whose printeries Norway had to get her books printed. The language in the cities of Norway was affected by Danish much in the same way as English speech was affected by the French-Norman after 1066.

From 1816 to 1904

With the beginning of the 19th century, Norwegian national life began to reassert itself, resulting in its political liberation from Denmark and strengthened by the religious awakening fostered by Lutherdom's greatest lay preacher, Hans Nielsen Hauge (d. 1822). The creative urge of the people extended over many different fields of culture, establishing its own court, bank, university, and press, and producing a glorious array, as the century progressed, of men eminent in arts, literature, and science.

Among the endeavors to sponsor a religious literature must be noted the founding of the Norwegian Bible Society in 1816. It got its incentive from the British and Foreign Bible Society, which rendered great services to Norway through almost the entire 19th century, at the end of which her own Bible Society took the lead. The Norwegian Bible Society promptly began to advocate the consultation of competent aid in putting more Norwegian into the Danish New Testament then in use, whose language had at length become Norway's book language in vocabulary, grammar, idiom and orthography. With the increasing self-consciousness of the people, the difference be-

tween Norwegian and Danish was, however, becoming more and more apparent.

In 1819 the Norwegian Bible Society published a new edition of the New Testament, differing but little, however, from the Danish translation that had been made in 1808 in Denmark. This new edition was the work of Bishop Frederick Julius Bech, Professor Svend Borchmann Hersleb, Professor Stener Johannes Stenersen, Court preacher Claus Pavels, and Matthias Sigwardt.

In 1830 a more independent version of the New Testament was got out by Professor Hersleb. He revised the Danish New Testament rendition of 1647, which itself was a revision that had been prepared by Bishop Hans Svane of Denmark. The Svane edition of 1647 was in its turn a revision of the translation made in 1607 by Professor Hans Povelsen Resen, a Dane.

In 1873 Johannes N. Skaar, later Bishop (d. 1904), got out a new edition of the rendition of 1830. It was frequently referred to as the "second edition." His co-workers were Professor Jacob F. Dietrichson (d. 1879), Professor Gisle Johnson (d. 1894), Provost, later Bishop, C. P. P. Essendrop (d. 1893).

Matters were maturing for an entirely independent Norwegian translation from the Greek, one without an edition pedigree. Professor F. W. Bugge (d. 1896), an unusually able Norwegian authority on Greek, had completed in 1890 a new translation of the New Testament that was made the basis of a very careful revision, which in 1904 was officially accepted by the Church of Norway as its New Testament. Eminent scholars had been at work on this revision. These were, besides Professor Bugge, Professor Carl Paul Caspari (d. 1892), a Christian German Jew who had left Germany to become Professor of Old Testament in Oslo, especially famed as the pioneer investigator of the sources of the Ecumenical Creeds; Professor Gisle Johnson, esteemed highly as an authority in Systematic Theology; and Professor Johannes Storm, in his day one of the world's outstanding philologists. As the first three men passed away, their vacancies on the committee on

Bible translation were filled by Bishop A. Chr. Bang (d. 1913), Professor Elias Blix (d. 1902), an authority in Semitic and Germanic Philology, and Professor Sigurd V. Odland, a pupil of Theodor Zahn in New Testament exegesis.

The new translation of 1904 was subjected to a searching philological survey in Johannes Storm's "*Bibelsproget. En Fremstilling af Sproget i den Nye Oversættelse af Det Nye Testamente*" (Christiania, 1904), in which he compares it with the previous translations of the New Testament into Norwegian. This survey is strictly philological.

So much for the New Testament. What about the Old Testament?

As early as 1842, the Norwegian Bible Society had taken steps to work for a complete new Norwegian translation. The society indeed published the whole Bible in 1854. But its *magnum opus* was the completion of the new translation of the Old Testament in 1891, for its seventy-fifth anniversary. The work appeared at first in tentative instalments from 1851 to 1876; then, in revised form from 1876 to 1887. The co-laborers in this undertaking, which covered almost half a century, were Adjunct Christian Thistedahl (d. 1876), Professors Jens Matthias Pram Kaurin (d. 1863), C. A. Holmboe (d. 1882), Jacob F. Dietrichson, Paul Caspari, Toender Nissen (d. 1882), and Provost Gustav M. Jensen (d. 1922).

Two of these were chiefly instrumental in determining the meaning of the original,—Caspari and Thistedahl, both outstanding linguists. Thistedahl's extreme modesty did not permit him to accept a professorship in the university. He turned down the offer. Legends related in some circles about the phenomenal linguistic gifts of Caspari are just as confidently told about Thistedahl in other circles; for instance, about the professor from Norway who in a railroad coach interfered with the efforts of two German professors to converse in peace. They were speaking in their native language. He made himself an uninvited third party, falling in with German. They turned to Latin, so did he. They switched off to Greek, he rode the same switch. They finally resorted to Hebrew, where the

linguist from the north was "in his very element." This climax was met by the ejaculation: "You are Caspari or Diabolus." The other version has it: "You are Thistedahl or Diabolus," as the story runs in a Norwegian school reader. Perhaps the whole elaboration is moulded after the words supposed to have been uttered by Erasmus to Thomas More: *Tu es Morus vel diabolus*. In any case, a compliment to learning was intended.

The 1891 version of the Old Testament in Norwegian was, at the time of its publication, considered to be unrivalled so far as both letter and spirit were concerned, in consonance with the requirements of a Church Bible. Regarded as such, its main defect lay in a good many Germanisms, which Caspari had not been able to abjure. It was the task of the new century to present a purely Norwegian text, conforming to the orthographic revolution which Norway had to experience in her rapid and almost relentless effort to rid herself of the more obviously Danish linguistic remnants and in a measure reconstruct the genuine Norwegian.

From 1904 to 1930

The revised Bible translation of 1930, based on the Old Testament version of 1891 and the New Testament version of 1904, was the happy and final result of the determined movement started by the Norwegian Bible Society more than a century before. In a less restricted meaning, the revision of 1930 is the resultant of more than seven centuries of experience in trying to read the Bible in the vernacular of a tongue in which also literary authors like Ibsen and Bjoernson, Vinje and Garborg, Hamsun and Undset, Bojer and Norstog, have spoken and written.

This revision of 1930 in the strict sense goes back to 1891. No sooner had the Old Testament of 1891 left the press than Bishop Bang, in that same year, committed to paper some proposals involving changes of words and phrases in the Old Testament which in his opinion should be used for a revision when the New Testament revision had been completed. In 1904

Bishop Bang and Professor Odland started on the revision of the Old Testament. They first revised the Psalms, which were published along with the New Testament in 1906. In 1916 Professor Alexander Seippel joined with Odland in the work. He had proved his profound knowledge of Hebrew and Norwegian in his excellent translation of large parts of the Old Testament into *landsmaal* (see later), thereby also showing the possession of unusual æsthetical gifts. Provost Gustav Jensen was for some time one of Professor Odland's co-workers in the revision. Rector Ivar Alnaes and Dr. N. Messel joined as translators in 1924.

Since Norway officially changed her system of orthography in 1907 and 1917, both times quite radically, much of the formal, mechanical work on the Bible had to be done twice. The orthography of 1917 is the one that has been followed in the Bible revision of 1930. Director Otto Grenness had a large share in adjusting the problem of orthography. Professor Odland, who had been made a member of the committee already in 1896, and who directed the work with all the ability of a thoroughly competent authority, has described the share each co-worker had and how the work progressed. See the 115th annual report of the Norwegian Bible Society for 1930, in Norwegian.

The revision of 1930 did not statically abide by the results of 1891 and 1904, but worked dynamically, though with great tact, to approach the goal always implied in true translation work, speaking the language taught the children in the school and using the terms not unfamiliar to the churchgoer. This revision will serve the Norwegian public for a number of years to come. But it claims no finality, and will naturally be superseded when the development in the language and further Bible research will make its exit necessary. Measured by the demands today, the revision of 1930 is of unusual merit.

What Archbishop Soederblom said, when Sweden accepted its new Bible translation, 1915-1917, must, in the excerpt here quoted, never be disregarded among Protestants. He said, "Evangelical Christianity can not abide by any Vulgate." We

add, what he also must have implied: "Nor by any *Textus Receptus*."

Twenty-five years ago, three Norwegian-American Lutheran Church bodies formally resolved to sponsor a Norwegian-American translation of the New Testament, to be made in our own land as a protest against the Norwegian New Testament translation of 1904, which they considered rationalistic. The tri-synodical affirmation that such a new undertaking was both possible and necessary, was combatted by the present writer in a series of articles, *Bibeloversaettelsen. Skal vi tilbake til textus receptus?*, published in "Lutheraneren" in the fall of 1908, Minneapolis. Fortunately the ill-advised project, a synodical whim in triplicate, came to naught overnight.

The revision of 1930, unlike the English Revised, does not speak in an archaic tongue or "solemn style." Its style is no more "solemn" than is the Greek Testament in "Koine." Hence its winsome appeal to the common man. This is an inestimable advantage. Professor Johannes Johnson emphasizes this: "I regard it as a deplorable remnant from the more obscure ages when we still find translations of the Bible (e. g., the English Revised Version) which emphasize an old-fashioned, solemn language as if the object were to show that the Bible is not every man's book and does not belong to our daily, (that is, real) life, but, together with clerical vestments and other curious things commanding veneration, pertains to by-gone ages, to which weak and romantic souls now and then make pilgrimages from a harsh present day reality." Thus the words of that fine thinker who after having spent many years of his life as a missionary in Madagascar, returned to Oslo to accept the professorship of Practical Theology in Oslo tendered him by the Norwegian government.

Landsmaal Translations

The official language of Norway primarily is *riksmaal*, and secondarily, *landsmaal*. The former, also the language of the Revised Bible of 1930, compares with the latter as High German with Low German. However, *landsmaal* has received

scholarly cultivation and is now being taught in many schools and preached in many churches. Though compounded especially from many western dialects, with less regard for the dialects spoken in other parts of Norway, it is "home, sweet home," because of its vernacular strength and poetic beauty. Among its early advocates were men like Ivar Aasen, Aasmund Vinje and Arne Garborg. Another name for *landsmaal* is *nynorsk* (New-Norwegian).

It was natural that the Bible was desired also in *landsmaal* translation. As stated before, the Bible in Danish came to Norway along with the Reformation. We have noted the attempts of the nineteenth century to put some Norwegian into its language; but the changes were so conservative that the Dane feels much at home also in the Norwegian nineteenth century versions. The revision of 1930 presents to him a far more difficult text; especially today, since the spirit of linguistic purism has also been at work in Denmark, removing the Norwegianisms that had made their way into the Danish during the long period of political union, as the Danisms, though far more assertingly, had entered into Norwegian.

The first *landsmaal* translation was that of Genesis in the Thronthjem vernacular, some time before 1769. The translator was perhaps Pastor Hersleb. No further attempt to advocate a written *nynorsk* was made, it seems, before that wonderful linguistic creative genius Ivar Aasen issued his grammar of the "folk language" (1848) and his dictionary (1850). In 1860 Hans Ross did selections of the Bible into New-Norwegian. Anton Christian Bang did the same for the Christmas Gospel in 1868. Provost Einar Unger (d. 1911), aided Georg Grieg in Bergen in translating Mark in 1870. Also, Professor Elias Blix translated Mark in the same year and John in 1871. The Gospel of John, which Archbishop Soederblom has called the greatest book in world literature, was translated into the *Telemark* dialect in 1871 by a jurist, Werner Weren-skjold (d. 1909).

In 1880 the *Norske Samlag* promised to support the project of a *landsmaal* translation of the Bible. It asked Johannes

Belsheim (d. 1909), from Valdris, to do the translating. It secured money to aid the project, from the State Government. Jakob Sverdrup, a member of the *Storthing* (Oiet) doubted the ability of Belsheim and thought that Elias Blix was better qualified to do the work. He asked that a trial translation be made of the Gospel of John or of the Letter to the Romans. The *Storthing* agreed to this, and set aside 1,000 crowns for the work to be done. But the Ecclesiastical Department objected to this expenditure. The objection was overruled by the king.

The officials of the *Samlag* now requested Professor Blix to translate Romans. The Ecclesiastical Department gave its approval, and selected Professors F. W. Bugge and C. R. Unger as judges of the translation. In 1882 Blix's translation of Romans was published. Unger praised its diction as beautiful and dignified. Bugge said the translation was a work of exactness and ability, but as a professor of theology he questioned in rather veiled language the necessity and desirability of Holy Writ in *landsmaal*!

In 1883, Mark was translated by Matias Olsen Skard, from Gudbrandsdalen. His consultants had been Ivar Aasen and Professor Blix. He followed the principles that had been used in translating Romans. He had made the original draft in 1874. He later translated Luke, Acts, Galatians, James, and the letters of John. These translations were reviewed in the same way as Mark.

In 1886 Matthew was published in a rendition from the hand of Belsheim. Acts and the Gospel of John were translated by Blix, in 1888.

Blix translated what had not been worked by Skard and Belsheim. In 1889 the whole New Testament in *landsmaal* was published in one volume at state expense. A new edition of it appeared in 1899. This was the work of Blix, who after leaving the king's cabinet in 1888 to become a university professor, found more time for translation work. He made a number of changes, like removing the plural form of verbs and the forms in dative, etc. The edition of 1908 followed the new authorized

orthography for *landsmaal* and was the work of Peter Hognestad.

The *landsmaal* versions could not be called provincial. Men from very different parts of Norway had joined hands in these translations. The chief incentive had come from Ivar Aasen, from Soendmoer, the creator of the classical style in New-Norwegian; but the essential role in the New-Norwegian translation of the New Testament was carried by Elias Blix from Nordland. In 1901 a festival was held in honor of Blix, who then was 75 years old; he told his audience what Ivar Aasen had said when they had completed the translation of the New Testament: "If we had received such a translation in the Age of the Reformation many things in Norway would have been different now, and especially would the scene have been different at many a death bed." The *landsmaal* New Testament was a book for the Norwegian soul.

The New Testament completed, Professor Blix worked every day at the Old. He did not get very far, as he died in 1902. He had translated Psalms 1 to 53. Peter Hognestad completed the translation of the Psalms in 1904. The chief translator of the Old Testament was Professor Alexander Seippel from Saetesdalen. He had Genesis ready in 1905; Exodus in 1908; Leviticus in 1910; Numbers in 1911; Deuteronomy in 1912; Joshua in 1913. Consultants were first Bishop Bang, and then Professor Odland. It was expected that the whole Bible would be available in *landsmaal* for the centenary celebration of the Norwegian Bible Society (1916) or the quadricentennial of the Reformation. It really appeared in 1921. Of course, the *landsmaal* translation does not spell finality any more than does the *riksmaal* version. The flux of language in everchanging terms flows forever on.

Norway thus has a New-Norwegian Church language besides the *riksmaal* Church language. Both, but especially the latter, make the ancient book of the Bible alive. A fresh stream of vitalizing folk speech courses through it. The aroma of the sunlit air of the Orient is carried along with the breezes from the mountains and pine forests of Gulf Stream's most favored

land. Luther's idea was that the Word of God should move into the living-room and speak in the tongue of the home. Peter Hognestad gives Professor Seippel credit for having taken this idea seriously. In Seippel's Bible, the Word of God talks "fullt ut paa heimemaaleet." (Hognestad). Here is nothing cold, pale, stale, and stilted. Here is color, warmth, strength and flexibility.

The writer can appreciate this. A bilingual from infancy, and used to the Norwegian classic Church language of about 1890 as well as to the solemn style of the Englishman's "King James," he heard on a visit in 1900 to Norway the parable of the Prodigal Son read in *landsmaal* and a sermon on it delivered in the same *maal*. He had heard the story of the Prodigal read scores of times before in both English and Norwegian, but now this parable was like an entirely new narrative of startling and fascinating beauty and intensely gripping, as was also the sermon that followed, delivered by Norway's foremost lay preacher, Ludvig Hope.

Modern Independent Translations

Due to substantial pedagogical reasons, versions of the Church Bible serving millions of people are less venturesome than private translations, though they may be quite as scholarly as the latter. Private translations appeal to special groups and, as such, are on trial with regard to their special merits, whether these relate to questions of text criticism, to philological and historical understanding of the text, to ability to render it exactly, with or without bias, with or without sympathy, in literal or poetic form, etc. Some of these private translations may prove to be of ephemeral worth or be absorbed by later Church Bibles. The latter has been the case with most of the *landsmaal* transmissions. Prof. F. W. Bugge's private translations of 1904 became basic for the public translation of 1904. Bugge, again, though not caring for private *landsmaal* versions had steadily used them in getting up his own. The reciprocal rendering of language aid is appreciated by serious translators whether the translation be public or private, domestic or foreign. Thus

Johannes Storm often gives credit to the English Revised Bible (and all the work behind it) for the aid it gave to the Norwegian translation of the New Testament in 1904.

We first make mention of Professor Simon Michelet's rendition of Judges as a part of *Det gamle Testamente*, edited by Dr. Frants Buhl, 1910, the great Danish authority in Semitics who had succeeded Franz Delitzsch in the University of Leipzig and under whom Michelet had studied in Germany.

Professor S. Mowinckel presented a Norwegian version of the Psalms in 1923. He has also translated parts of the Old Testament into German.

In 1930 *De fem Mosebøger* (Pentateuch) were offered in an unique Norwegian translation by Professors Michelet, Mowinckel and Dr. N. Messel. The lyrist of the group, Mowinckel, covered portions of Exodus and Numbers, and all of Deuteronomy. Mensel did a small part of Exodus, all of Leviticus, and most of Numbers. Michelet translated the rest. He is on purpose unconventional, using fairly tale-like expressions to depict, as he thinks, the meaning intended by the early records of the first pages of the Bible.

In 1932 P. O. Schjott came out with a translation of the Apostles' letters of the New Testament, *Apostelbrevene i det Nye Testamente, Oversettelse med ekskurser*.

A professor of theology, particularly of exegetical theology, usually makes his own text translations. Even if these never appear in print, they nevertheless permeate his theological works that are published. Instances of these are many. It suffices to mention Professor Lyder Brun's *Jesu Evangelium*, 1926; and Professor Olav Moe's *Apostelen Paulus's Forkyndelse og Laere*, 1928. Here can be mentioned also Professor Anton J. Fridrichsen, from Stjördalen near Throndhjem, who was called from the University of Oslo to the University of Upsala as Professor of New Testament, one of our most informed and original interpreters of primitive Christianity. He writes in French, German, Swedish, Norwegian and English. American readers know him best by his bibliographies in *Harvard Theological Review*.

To be mentioned once more in this survey is the name of Johannes Belsheim who, as indicated above, not only shared in translating the Bible to *riksmaal* and *landsmaal*, but, also, as a text critic, edited and published ancient Biblical manuscripts. In 1884 he published *Af Bibelen i Norge og paa Island i Middelalderen*, Bible quotations collected from Old Norse homilies, legends about saints, and apocryphal *Acta Apostolorum* (*Postulasoger*). The article *Skandinaviske Bibelübersetzungen* in Herzog-Hauck's *Realencyklopädie*, III (1897) is from his pen.

Purely philologic is also the *Den norske Homiliebog*, edited by Professor C. R. Unger in Oslo, 1862. The manuscript is now found in *Den arnamagnæanske Haandskriftsamling*, in Copenhagen. Gustav Indrebo has edited and published the same manuscript, *Gamal Norsk Homiliebok*, Oslo, 1931. This interesting book of Latin and Norwegian sermons is from about the year 1200. An English edition was published by Professor George T. Flom of Urbana, Illinois: *An Old Norwegian Homiletic Codex of ca. 1200, Diplomatic Text With Eight Facsimile Pages and Introduction*, 1929. The original contains a good many Scripture passages, in "fine and marrowful" Norwegian, as Professor Alexander Bugge stated it.

Translations in Service of Foreign Missions

In the northern part of Norway and the regions directly east are the Laplanders. Their original name of "Finns" has been appropriated by the people of Finland. The Norwegian Lapps got their translation of the New Testament and the Psalms of David in 1840. It was the work of the Norwegian pastor, Nils Stockfleth (d. 1866), and was revised in 1874 by Professor Friis. A tentative translation of the Old Testament was made by Lars Haetta. It was revised later by Rector Qvigstad, who had the entire Bible published in Lappish in 1895.

Norway has had many of its sons and daughters at work as missionaries in Madagascar. The best known among these missionaries was perhaps Lars Nilssön Dahle (d. 1925). He took part from 1873 to 1887 in translating the Bible into Malagasy.

Among the Norwegian missionaries to the Santals in India, two have been very active also in translating the Bible. Lars Skrefsrud (d. 1901), from Gudbrandsdalen, whose life reads like a romance, a linguist of forty-nine languages, perhaps the most interesting personality in this entire sketch, translated the four gospels into Santali. But it was P. O. Boddington who bore the major burden of getting out the whole Bible in Santali, a work for which his eminent philological scholarship, considered more exact than that of Skrefsrud, especially qualified him, which is also evidenced by his Grammar in Santali and his Santal Dictionary.

Thus the influence of Norway's Bible translators has not been confined to Europe, or to the Americas where so many people of Norwegian antecedents live, but it has extended to the ancient lands of Asia and Africa, and here, too, as in the homeland, in exact scholarship performed in Christian love. It thus has left a cultural legacy and a Christian heritage for ages to come, perpetuating itself not only directly in the tongue of the peoples for whom the transmissions were made, but also indirectly by affecting the whole world of Biblical scholarship and religious belief; perhaps sparingly in temporal, quantitatively measured tangible manifestation, but abundantly in the spiritual, intensely real realm—the realest of all—that kingdom whose Head is Christ, *the Word*, Who is the center of Biblical narrative, edification and instruction.

The tremendously significant importance of the Bible can not be seriously disputed. But more than any other book it has also put its stamp on western culture, and especially on that of the last 400 years beginning with the year 1534 when Luther's Bible translation, which portrays where so many other versions mechanically photograph, was sent out into the world to speak in the language of the "common man." It spoke otherwise and meant something else than Canon Law, which Luther literally and spiritually consigned to the flames. It has been like salt in preserving culture from destruction following in the wake of sin. The fearful nature and power of sin, also its ultimate removal, would never have been known of except for

this book which now speaks in a multitude of tongues, appealing often through emotion to the will, the center of man's soul life.

Hear this chord in *landsmaal*:

"Sjaa han kjem med skyene, og kvart auga skal sjaa han, ogso dei som har gjennomstunge han, og alle ätter paa jordi skal graata saart for han. Ja, amen."

And the same in *riksmaal*:

"See, han kommer med skyene, og hvert öie skal se ham, også de som har gjennomstunget ham, og alle jordens slekter skal gråte sårt over ham. Ja, amen (Rev. 1: 7)."

Continuing in *riksmaal*:

"Og han skal törke bort hver tåre av deres öine, og döden skal ikke være mere, og ikke sorg og ikke skrik og ikke pine skal være mere; for de Förste ting er veket bort (Rev. 21: 4)."

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CHAPTER XVII

THE BIBLE IN FINNISH

OUR aim in this chapter is to deal with the Finnish Bible versions or translations from the historical viewpoint, showing the extent and the development of the reproduction of the sacred Scriptures in the Finnish tongue. In addition to this we shall also touch on the translations made by Finnish missionaries into other languages.

The Earlier Translations

Swedish had become the official language of Finland since its union with the kingdom of Sweden about 1157, although the vernacular of the people was Finnish. During the Reformation period the land acquired a Finnish ecclesiastical and literary language. It was Michael Agricola who laid a firm foundation for the Finnish Bible as well as the Finnish literature. On his return from Wittenberg in 1539, he began to publish religious books in his native tongue. His translation of the New Testament appeared in 1548, which was printed in Stockholm, Finland having at that time no printing establishment. He also translated several books of the Old Testament, so that about one-fourth of it was completed before his death in 1557.

The *whole Bible in Finnish* did not appear before the year 1642, nearly a hundred years after Agricola's time. It was translated by a committee, consisting of Professor Eskil Peträous (later Bishop), Professor Martti Stodius, Rector Henrick Hoffman, Rector Gregorius Favorinus, and Chaplain Jonas Raumanannus. It was in folio size, two columns to a page, and illustrated with artistic woodcuts, while the title pages were in neat baroque style copper engravings. The translation was made directly from the original languages, and compared with Luther's translation. The committee adhered to

the earlier work of Agricola in its work, except that there is a marked improvement in orthography.

The *second edition* of the Finnish Bible was published in 1685. As the 1642 Bible was rather cumbersome because of its large size, the Bishop John Gezelius, Sr., undertook the publication of a new edition, which was completed by the Rector Henrik Florinus in 1685. It was to be so small "that it could be carried along on all expeditions." (Sweden was engaged in many foreign wars at this time, in which the Finnish soldiers took part.) It was much smaller in size than its predecessor, less impressive typographically, and without illustrations. It could be said of it that "the words of the Holy Bible now appear more clear and nearer to the original text than before in many places." The language had been greatly improved both in form and in the exactness of expression, so that it has been said of this edition "that very few countries possessed as good a version of the Bible at this time." (Bergroth, *Suomen Kirkon Historia*, I, page 394.)

The second complete edition did not, however, satisfy the general need very long. The *third edition*, which appeared in 1758, was completed by the Rector Anders Lizelius, assisted by the Bishops Brovallius and Menander, and Professor Clewberg and Domprovost Samuel Pryssa. It was in quarto, and in larger type than the 1685 edition. All the succeeding editions of the Church Bibles are of this model. That this was not simply a revision of the previous versions is seen from the words on the title page, "newly translated from Hebrew and Greek of the original Bible text." It follows very closely the translation of 1685, but many ambiguous words are changed to clearer ones, some errors in translation are corrected, and orthography has again been improved.

As this edition was soon out of print, the work on the *fourth edition* was started soon after this. Anders Lizelius was again appointed to the task, and the new edition was published in 1776. He revised the preceding edition, correcting some errors in grammar and thought. A notable improvement was made in orthography when the letter "k" was substituted for "c" in

all Finnish words. This fourth edition is really the official Church Bible of Finland even today, although several new editions have been published in which the language has been improved, but no material changes have been officially made in it. It is worthy to note that the Apocryphal books appear in this edition, as in all the earlier versions. But some of the later Finnish editions do not contain them, such being the case in the Finnish Bibles published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. As is generally known, "up to 1826 they were printed in all Protestant Bibles," but since that year the British and Foreign Bible Society has omitted the Apocryphal books and the American Bible Society has followed its example. (See *Theological Encyclopedia*, Weidner, Part I, page 118.)

The *fifth edition* of the Finnish Bible was published in the following year. It was printed in Reval, and was intended for the Finnish Lutheran congregations in the province of Viborg, which had been annexed to the Russian empire in 1721. The introduction, written by the Consistory of Viborg, states, "To the Christian Finnish Churches in the diocese of Viborg, under the rule and the protection of the Most Gracious Imperial Russian Government." This edition, however, is not named in the list of Finnish translations, and the title of the *fifth edition* is given to the one published in 1817.

Newer Editions

Several new editions have been published since the year 1800, but as previously stated, none of them represents official translations. New editions of the whole Bible appeared in 1817, 1821, 1832, 1845, 1849, 1852, and 1863. As far as the history of Finnish Bible translations is concerned, these are not important, since they follow in general the 1776 translation, although some improvement is seen in them in orthography and linguistic purity. Special mention, however, must be made of the work of Professor Anders Wilhelm Ingman as a translator.

Professors Gabriel Geitlin and Mathias Akiander, who had supervised the publication of the 1852 edition, submitted to

the Bible Society of Turku a report of the many imperfections they had found in the 1776 translation. It was then felt that the work could be done if a man was found who adhered faithfully to the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures and at the same time was well versed in Finnish as well as in both of the original Bible languages. Such a man was Professor A. W. Ingman. The 1859 edition was the result of his work; but it did not receive official approval. Perhaps the chief criticism was that Ingman had deviated too far from the former Bible style. A new committee was therefore appointed in 1861. This committee was to use as its aid the translation of Ingman in making a new translation. After many changes in the personnel of the committee, it completed the translation of the Old Testament during the years of 1869-86. The Church Convention of 1886 found the work lacking in unity of form, as different principles had been followed in the translation of various books. A new committee was again appointed, whose work we will be ready to consider after explaining an additional point.

As the proposed texts of various translation committees were published, in some cases they were incorporated into the new Bible editions before their final approval. This is the case regarding the translation of the 1861 committee. The work was never officially approved. But the Finnish Bible Society published the edition of 1861 with "further grammatical corrections." The British and Foreign Bible Society has also adopted the Old Testament part from the 1861 translation into its Finnish Bible editions, with further grammatical corrections, as is shown by the words of introduction of the said edition, "grammatically corrected edition of the 1861 Bible committee work."

Professor A. F. Puukko, a member of the present committee, points out that "as the corrections have been made by some individuals, so that other authorities have had no opportunity to examine the work, and as the corrections have evidently been made without always comparing the original Hebrew text, it has happened that even the bad typographical errors

that had slipped into the edition of 1861, have been mechanically incorporated into the new editions." (*Raamatusuomenos*, A. F. Puukko, p. 11.) He further remarks that earlier proposed translations of the present committee, which have been changed in the final sessions of the committee, have been taken into these new editions in their temporary form.

The Work of the Present Committee

The various new editions since 1800 are significant as indicating a real need for a new translation. More than 150 years have elapsed since the publication of the last official Church Bible of 1776. Two factors make this need very urgent. First, during this time great development has taken place in the literary language of Finland. And, secondly, rapid progress has been made in the textual criticism of the New Testament through the discovery of some of the best New Testament manuscripts, and the scholarly work of many eminent textual critics during the last century.

In order to do away with the great variety that has existed for some time regarding the Old Testament texts, a new Bible translation committee was appointed by the Church Convention of Finland in 1886. As a result of its work a new translation of the New Testament was completed in 1912, which was adopted for temporary use in conjunction with the old official version. The final approval of this text now depends on the approval of the translation of the Old Testament on which the committee has been engaged. We can now state that the translation of the Old Testament was finally completed in June, 1932, and the Church Convention of 1933 has approved this work.

The committee working on the Old Testament has always consisted of three members, a fourth member has been a critic of Finnish language. The following men have belonged to the committee: Professor S. E. Stenij, until his death in 1925; Domprovost J. Schwartzberg, until his death in 1915; Professor A. L. M. Hjelt, until his death in 1931; Director F. P. Oinonen, during the winter of 1915-1916; Domprovost J. A.

Mannermaa, since the fall of 1916; Professor A. F. Puukko, since the fall of 1925, and Doctor Aug. F. Peltonen, since the spring of 1931. The last three members have continued the work to the completion of the translation. The noted Finnish writer, Juhani Aho, acted as a language expert until his death, in 1921. Since that time Professor Otto Manninen has acted in that capacity. And as the committee has reviewed in body the whole of the Old Testament since 1921, the work of Professor Manninen has thus extended through the entire work of the Old Testament.

Some of the governing principles of the committee have been, besides following philological and scientific requirements, above all strict adherence to the Masoretic text, and the preservation of the unity of language in the old Bible translation and the churchly colloquy, as far as possible. Although this has been done, the translation is not a revision of any older version but has been made directly from the original texts. In addition to the use of the ancient Greek manuscripts, Latin and other versions, the committee has continuously compared its work with Luther's translation, the 1776 Finnish translation, the translation of the committee published during the years 1869-1886, and the new Church Bible of Sweden, published in 1917. The poetic form of Hebrew in the Psalms has been reproduced in the translation by dividing the lines according to poetic meter. True, the original poetic form is not produced perfectly thereby, but it is much more satisfactory than if no attempt had been made to express it. A further feature to be pointed out in the translation is the separation of verses from each other, thus adding to clearness and facilitating the finding of individual verses. This method has been generally used in all the Finnish translations, with the exception of the translation of Agricola and the 1642 Bible translation.

It can now be hoped that the variety of Bible texts will disappear in the new editions, no matter where printed, and that there will again be a standard Finnish Bible text.

Translation by Finnish Missionaries

For over fifty years the Missionary Society of Finland has been engaged in foreign mission work in Ovamboland or Amboland, which is located in the northwest corner of the former German Southwest Africa, over which the Union of South Africa became mandatory under the Versailles treaty. This territory is inhabited by the Ambo people, a group belonging to the Bantu race. It consists of thirteen tribes, numbering in all about 200,000 souls. They have no written language. It has been the work of the Finnish missionaries to get at the roots of their language and thought. The Oshindonga literary language has been established, and several religious books have already been published in that language. (Confer *Kristinuskon Voittokulku*, by Gertrud Aulen, with addenda on the work of the Finnish Missionary Society by K. A. Paasio, pp. 489-491.) A weekly newspaper has also been published for about twenty years.

In 1903 the Ambo people were blessed with the publication of the New Testament in their own language. Other portions of the Bible have appeared since: Psalms, 1908; Isaiah, 1913; Jeremiah, 1914; and in 1920 the whole Old Testament was published. The translation, which was very difficult because of the inflexibility and the undeveloped state of the native tongue (Ndonga or Ovambo or Ovamba or Ovampo or Oshambo—the Oshi-Ndonga literary language), was the work of Doctor Martti Rautanen. He was a pioneer among the Finnish missionaries in Ovamboland, having arrived there in 1870 with the first Finnish missionaries. He was assisted in his work by the other missionaries of the Missionary Society of Finland. The books have been published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The missionary activities of Finland have not been confined to Africa alone. The Missionary Society of Finland has another field in the province of Honan, China. Then, also, the Gospel Society of Finland has been engaged in missionary work in Japan. And the Free Mission (*Vapaalähetys*), which later became known as the Alliance Mission, has labored in the state of

Sikhim, on the southern slope of the Himalaya Mountains, and in China in affiliation with the China Inland Mission. But it has not been necessary for the workers from Finland to engage in translating the Bible into the languages of these peoples, for that work had been done earlier by pioneers connected with other societies.

A final word may yet be added concerning the translation of portions of the Bible into a dialect of Finnish, which we have not noted in the above, namely, the Karel or Carelian dialect. The ethnic group, known as the Carelians, live in the eastern part of Finland and also across the Russian boundary, northeast of Finland, their habitations reaching close to the White Sea. This district had been joined to the Russian Empire long before 1809, when all of Finland became united with Russia. At this time the district known as "Old Finland" was again made a part of Finland proper. Missionary work by the Greek Orthodox Church had been started among the Carelians from Novgorod a little later than the Roman Catholic faith was brought into Finland by its western neighbors. In the course of years the Carelian dialect has changed considerably under the influence of the Russian language, particularly so in the Russian Carelia.

All the instruction has been in the Russian, not even the elements of knowledge were allowed to be taught in Carelian, even in districts where people were ignorant of Russian and the priests were able to teach in the vernacular of the people. Under the Russian rule it was not possible for Finland to do missionary and educational work among the Carelians, and the Greek Orthodox Church itself neglected their spiritual care to a great extent, so that illiteracy has been very common among them. The same restraint prevails even at this time. The League of the White Sea Carelia (Vienan Karjalaisten Liitto) of Finland, has published an ABC-book and some articles in the Carelian dialect in its publications. The Greek Orthodox Church has published two or three ABC-books, about as many prayer books, a Bible history, and portions of the New Testament. The oldest books in Carelian dialect are a few short

prayers and a shortened translation of the Catechism, in 1804, and the Gospel of St. Matthew, in 1820. In 1896 appeared the Gospel of St. Mark; Luke, in 1899; John, Colossians, 1 and 2 Peter, and 1 John, in 1917. All of these Bible translations have been made from the Russian language and printed in Russian characters. They were printed in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). (See *Tietosanakirja*, Vol. IV, pp. 367-383.)

Even this brief review bears witness to the fact that the Finnish race, which has been blessed with the precious Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, has not been altogether forgetful of the great commission handed the followers of Christ.

"I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth."

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*Decorated with the Order of the White Rose,
II Class and I Class, by Finland.*

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BIBLE IN SLAVIC LANGUAGES

THE mother tongue of the various Slav languages is not known today. The philologists, however, agree that all those languages which are properly classified as Slavic, were developed from one common ancient tongue of the Slavs.

The modern Slav languages are classified in the following groups:

I. *The Eastern Group*

1. Great Russian
2. White Russian
3. Little Russian

II. *The Southern Group*

1. Bulgarian
2. Serbo-Croatian
3. Slovenian
4. Hungaro-Slovenian

III. *The Western Group*

1. Bohemian
2. Slovak
3. Wend (Upper and Lower)
4. Polish

IV. *The Lett Group*

1. Lithuanian
2. Samogit
3. Lett (Lettish, Livonian)

The Bible, as a whole or in its parts, is translated into all of these languages.

Before summing up the translations particularly, we must mention here an ancient Slavic tongue which is popularly

termed the "Ecclesiastical Slavonic" language. This tongue is not spoken in common conversation, but it survives in the liturgy of the Russian, Servian, and Bulgarian Orthodox Church and *bears the first version of the Holy Scriptures in a Slavic tongue.*

This version, in fact, represents one of the earliest attempts in Europe to translate the Bible into the vulgar tongue of the people. It is said to have been made in the second half of the ninth century for the use of Slavs in Moravia, Pannonia, and Bulgaria; and it is ascribed to the first apostles of the Slavs, Cyril and Methodius. It is not known, however, just exactly how much of the Scriptures these apostles, themselves, translated. The earliest manuscripts of this version include only parts of the Bible, and go back to the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The earliest manuscript of the complete Bible is that dated 1499 and named after Gennadius, archbishop of Novgorod, preserved in the Synodical Library at Moscow. The first edition of this Bible was prepared under the auspices of Konstantine, Prince of Ostrog in Volhynia, Russia, and it is called the *Ostrog Bible*, edited in 1581.

Another early version of the Bible which deserves special mention is the old *Bohemian Bible*, written in Bohemian. The translator is not known. Some attribute it to Cyril and Methodius; some to St. Jerome. Historical fact is that it was revised by Ján Hus (1373-1415). Two copies of this version are known to be still existing; one in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and the other in the University Library at Prague. Later, this version was revised by Martin Lupáč, and edited in Prague in 1488.

The Translations of the Various Slavic Groups

I. The Eastern Group

The standard for the Eastern Group of Slavs and also for the other Slavs in the Orthodox Church, is the *Ostrog Bible*. This Bible was revised in 1663, and again in 1751 at St. Petersburg. This second revision is known as the *Bible of Elizabeth*. As many as thirteen editions were printed, the latest, in 1907,

being the "official" Bible of the Eastern Group of Slavs in the Orthodox Church.

1. *Great Russian*

The "Great Russian" is the modern literary Russian language. All editions of the Bible in Great Russian are translations of the *Bible of Elizabeth* into this language. The printing is in Gailandski characters, which is the modern form of the Cyrillic characters introduced by Peter the Great.

Editions: The first New Testament was edited at St. Petersburg in 1823; the first Old Testament in 1875, at St. Petersburg; the first whole Bible (without Apocrypha) in 1877, at Vienna. Six more editions of the whole Bible were issued, the last one in 1908, at St. Petersburg.

2. *White Russian (Polish Russian)*

This is a dialect of the Great Russian spoken by Polish Russians. It is also spoken in parts of Lithuania. Only one translation of the Bible into this dialect is known, and this was the first version of the Bible in Russian. It was made by Franciscus Skorina, a native of Polotsk who translated from the Vulgate and partly from the ancient Slavonic Bible, (the later *Ostrog Bible*). He worked on this translation from 1517 to 1525. However, only the following portions remain: I Samuel, I and II Kings, the Pentateuch, the Acts and Epistles, and the Psalter.

3. *Little Russian (Red Russian, Ruthenian)*

This is merely a dialect of the standard Russian spoken in Southern Russia, Poland, Eastern Czechoslovakia, and Rumania.

These editions are printed either in Cyrillic or in Roman characters. At first, the New Testament was translated from the Greek by P. A. Kulisch and D. Lupuj, and edited in 1871 at Vienna. The whole Bible in the Kulisch-Lupuj translation was edited in 1903 at Vienna. This is the only translation of the Bible in Little Russian.

II. The Southern Group

1. Bulgarian

The old Bulgarian was the closest language to the language of the ancient *Slavonic Bible*. One edition of this Bible, written in Glagolic characters, is known as the *Old Bulgarian Bible*. The modern editions are written in Cyrillic characters.

The first translation of the New Testament into modern Bulgarian was made from the ancient *Slavonic Bible*, and edited in Smyrna in 1840. The first translation of the New Testament from the Greek was edited in Bucharest in 1859. The first edition of the whole Bible was issued at Constantinople in 1871. This edition was reprinted three times, in 1874, 1885, and 1897.

2. Servian and Croatian

The Serbs and Croats are the inhabitants of Jugoslavia. They are identical in race and speak what is now practically the same language. The people differ in religion; the Serbs belong almost entirely to the Greek Orthodox Church and habitually use the Cyrillic characters in writing; the Croats belong to the Roman Catholic Church and use the Roman characters in writing.

The earliest edition is that of the *Liturgical Epistles and Gospels*, translated by Bernardinus Spalatensis, a Franciscan, and edited in 1543 at Venice (printed in black letters). It was edited in Roman characters at Várasd, Hungary, in 1586.

The first whole New Testament was translated into Croatian by Antonius Dalmata and Stephanus Consul Istrianus, edited in Tübingen, Germany, in 1562. The translators followed Erasmus' Latin version and Luther's German version.

Parts of the Old Testament were translated by the same translators and edited in Tübingen in 1564.

The first Holy Bible was edited in Croatian at Budapest in 1831, translated from the Vulgate by Martin Petar Katančić.

The first translation of the Holy Bible into modern Servian was made by Vuk Štepanović, and was edited at Vienna in 1847.

The second and last translation into modern Servian was performed by Daničić and Vuk, edited at Belgrade in 1868 (without Apocrypha).

3. *Slovenian (Slovinec, Windish, Vend, Vandalic, Carniolan)*

The Slovenians are inhabitants of Jugoslavia and South Austria. About one-third of them are Lutherans and the others mainly Roman Catholics.

The first translation of the New Testament was made by Primus (Primoš) Truber, surnamed Creiner (Carniola), a Reformed minister. It was translated from Latin and Italian but mostly from Luther's German version. The first edition came out in 1582 at Tübingen.

The *whole Bible*, translated from the original languages, was the work of Dalmatin, a Lutheran pastor at Carniola. It was revised by a commission of six theologians and edited at Wittenberg in 1584. (Included in the *Nuremberg Polyglot Bible*).

The latest careful translation of the New Testament from the original language was made by Anton Chraska, a Bohemian Lutheran pastor settled in Laibach, with assistance from Milan Jaklič and Anton Mikuš, Slovenian scholars. It was edited at Laibach in 1908.

The Vulgate was translated by Roman Catholic ecclesiastics and published in ten octavo volumes bearing dates between 1784 and 1802.

4. *Hungaro-Slovenian*

The Hungaro-Slovenians inhabit Southwest Hungary (Ancient Pannonia) and hence the name. Their language is a distinctive tribal one.

Only the New Testament is translated into this language, taken from the Greek by Stephan Küzmic, and edited at Halle, Germany, in 1771. This version was revised by Teplán Sándori and edited at Vienna in 1883.

III. *The Western Group*

1. *Bohemian (Czech)*

The Bohemians are the inhabitants of Czechoslovakia. About 1,000,000 Czechs live in the United States.

The earliest translation of the Bible in Bohemian is the old *Bohemian Bible*, revised by Ján Hus and Martin Lupáč, written in Gothic characters, and edited at Prague in 1488. (Previously mentioned.)

After the Reformation, one of the best translations of the Bible in general, definitely the best among the Slavic translations, is in the Bohemian language. This is the celebrated *Kralitz Bible* (*Biblia Kralická*). The translation from the original languages was made by a committee of eight theologians under the chairmanship of Bishop Blahoslav from 1579 to 1593. It was printed in Gothic characters by Zachariaš Solin at the castle of Kralic in Moravia, which belonged to John von Zerotin (Ján ze Zerotina), an influential baron who bore the entire cost of the undertaking. The first edition appeared in 1593. Between 1593 and 1904 the whole Bible in this translation reached twenty-eight editions.

The Roman Catholics translated the Bible from the Vulgate, and edited it in 1715 at Prague. This translation is known as the *Wenzel Bible*.

2. *Slovak*

The Slovaks inhabit Czechoslovakia; about 800,000 live in the United States. Although the literary Slovak is a distinctive language of the Western Slavic Group, the liturgical language of the Protestant Churches, namely, that of the Lutheran Church, is the language of the *Kralitz Bible*. This language is not the modern Czech, nor is it the literary Slovak. It is a language, however, which is understood perfectly by every Czech and Slovak; and as it was used from generation to generation in the Church, such reverent adherence developed toward it that it is maintained in the Liturgy of the Church until today. This fact, and the excellency of the version of the *Kralitz*

Bible, explain why there were no endeavors to translate the Bible into literary Slovak until the latest times.

On the Roman Catholic side, the Bible was translated from the Vulgate by Jiri Palkovič, a canon of Hron, printed in Gothic characters and edited at Vienna in 1832.

Into literary Slovak, the Psalms were translated from the original by Dr. Ján Lajčiak, a Lutheran pastor, and edited at Budapest in 1904.

The New Testament from the Greek was translated by Jozef Roháček, a Lutheran pastor, and edited in 1924 at Prague.

The Lutheran Church in Czechoslovakia is now preparing a translation of the whole Bible into the Slovak language.

3. *Wend (Sorb, Sorbian, Lusatian, Wendic)*

The Wend language, which is one of the oldest Slav languages, is spoken by about 112,000 people living along the River Spree in a district which was formerly known as Lusatia. They all belong to the Lutheran Church, except about 12,000 of them who are Roman Catholics. According to their dialects, their language is known as Upper Wend and Lower Wend.

a) *Upper Wend*

The earliest translations were the Gospels of Matthew and Mark (1670), and the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians (1693), by Paul Prätorius. The whole Bible was translated after Luther's German version by four pastors (Lange, Jokuš, Behmár and Wawer) and printed in 1728.

b) *Lower Wend*

The New Testament was translated after Luther's version and from the original by Bohumil Fabricius, a Lutheran pastor, in 1709. The Old Testament was translated by Johann Friedrich (Frico or Frizo) from the original, with reference to Luther's version, and edited at Cottbus in 1796. The whole Bible was edited at Berlin in 1868.

4. *Polish*

Relics of early translations of the Bible are dated from the thirteenth century to the Reformation. (Florian Psalter, Pulavy Psalter, *Bible of Queen Sophia*.)

The first New Testament was translated by Jan Sieklutzki, a personal friend of Luther. The first edition appeared in 1553.

The Whole Bible

The first edition of the whole Bible is known as the *Cracow Bible*, 1561. The origin of it is obscure. Influences of the *Bohemian Bible*, the statement in the preface that the translator wished to remain unknown, and some historical evidences point to the possibility that the translator might have been the Lutheran Sieklutzki.

The next translation of the whole Bible from original languages was made by eighteen scholars under the patronage of Prince Nikolas Radziwill (Czarny'). The work contains Socinian tendencies. This Bible was edited in 1563, and it is known under the names of *Radziwill*, *Socinian*, or *Brest Litovsk Bible*. Because of its Socinian tendencies, it was not received favorably by the Protestants. (After the prince's death, a Roman Catholic member of his own family caused all copies which could be obtained to be burned. A few specimens have survived to the present day.) The second edition was issued in 1572 at Niešuviež.

The complete Bible was translated and edited in 1599 by J. Wupek. This became the standard Roman Catholic version of the Bible in Polish.

The whole Bible was translated by D. Mikolajevski and J. Turnovsky, with the result that it superseded the *Brest Litovsk Bible*. It was edited in Danzig in 1632. This edition became the accepted standard in Polish by the Protestants. Ten editions were issued.

IV. *The Lett Group*

1. *Lithuanian*

Lithuanian is the language of a people of Indo-European origin, numbering about 3,000,000, a tenth of whom have now migrated to the United States. According to some authorities, it belongs to the Lett branch of the Slavic Group of languages.

Some classify it as an independent language of Indo-Aryan origin. The editions of the Bible are generally printed in Gothic characters with diacritical marks, that being characteristic of the writing of the Bibles of the Western Slavic Group.

First translation: *Liturgical Epistles and Gospels* by Bartholomeus Willent, a Lutheran pastor at Königsberg. It was edited in 1579.

The Liturgical Epistles and Gospels were translated from Luther's version by Johannes Bretkins (Bretkunas) in 1591, also the Psalter, edited at Königsberg in 1625.

Genesis and Psalms were translated by Lithuanian Reformers in 1662.

The New Testament was translated by Samuel Bythner and edited at Königsberg in 1701.

The *whole Bible*, based on Luther's revised version, was translated by Johann Jacob Quandt with the help of a committee of Lithuanian pastors. It was edited at Königsberg in 1735. It reached seven editions.

2. *Samogit*

This is a dialect of Lithuanian; spoken by about 500,000 inhabitants of the government of Kovno in Russia.

Only the New Testament is translated into this language from the Vulgate by Prince Joseph Gedroitz, Roman Catholic Bishop, in 1816.

3. *Lett (Lettish, Livonian)*

Liturgical Epistles and Gospels, known as *Enchiridion*, a Lutheran manual issued in 1586-87. Several editions under the name of *Vademecum*, or *Handbook*.

The Holy Bible. Translation by Ernest Glück, with assistance of C. B. Witten, by order of Charles XI of Sweden, under the supervision of Johann Fischer, superintendent of Livonia. The New Testament was edited in 1685, the other parts in 1689. Several revisions were made. A thorough revision was made by A. Bielenstein in 1877. The latest edition was that of 1905 (B. F. B. S.).

Ta Jauna Derriba, a fresh translation of the New Testament by G. G. Mylich in 1807. This was revised and reprinted several times. The latest edition was that of 1905 (B. F. B. S.).

The languages of the Eastern Slavic Group are spoken by about 120,000,000, of the Southern Group by about 18,000,000; of the Western Group by about 37,000,000, and of the Lett Group by about 3,500,000.

[The data of the translations and editions of the Bible used in this work were taken from Darlow and Moule's *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scriptures*.]

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CHAPTER XIX

THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH

DURING the reign of Queen Victoria, a chieftain of one of Great Britain's more distant colonies visited England; and, being deeply impressed by what he saw and heard, he marveled at England's greatness and wondered what might be its secret cause. He accordingly asked the Queen, "Is there any one thing that is the explanation of all this?" Without hesitation the good Queen answered, "Yes, there is one thing. It is the Bible."

This splendid testimony as to the influence of the Bible in the history of England contains a noble element of truth. Throughout English history the Bible and its use and recognition may almost be said to be an index of the state of English civilization. So intimately is the history of the English Bible bound up with the history of the English people that the two must be studied together if one would understand them separately. Moreover, the language of the English Bible has made and is the language of the English people, and the history of its translations and of its language is largely the history of the English tongue. Nor is there any nation in which the Bible has had a richer history.

Pre-Norman Translations

Already in the second half of the seventh century we find Cædmon, the herdsman or farmer and Benedictine monk, attuning to his harp in Anglo-Saxon verse a paraphrase of the stories of Creation, the Exodus and certain other choice passages of Scripture, as these were translated to him from the Latin by more learned monks. About that time, also, other attempts at translation were those of Aldhelm, who is reported to have translated the book of Psalms, or a part of it, while Egbert made a translation of the Gospels. Of Egbert's version there is a manuscript in the British Museum. But even more

interesting, if that were possible, is the story of the translation of the Venerable Bede, who, in 735, upon his dying bed, dictated the closing sentences of his prose translation of St. John's Gospel. But of Bede's translation not even a fragment has come down to us.

Then followed an apparent lull, during which there was virtually a cessation from such laudable efforts to bring the Scriptures into the vernacular of the time. But during the latter part of the ninth century there was a notable translation of the Ten Commandments, placed at the head of the Book of Laws, as well as a translation of some of the Psalms. These were made by none other than Alfred the Great himself, or at his direction. Of this translation of the Psalms there is no definitely authenticated manuscript left.

All these translations, made from the Old Latin, were meant apparently for the benefit of such of the monks and clergy as were not adequately versed in the Latin language, and not for the common people. Nor was there as yet any opposition on the part of the Church to such translating of the Scriptures. However, all these efforts at translation were confined to fragmentary parts of Scripture; and with but few exceptions they were in metrical form, and quite generally between the lines in older Latin manuscripts.

About the middle of the tenth century, if not earlier, there were several translations of the Gospels, one of which was by a priest named Aldred. For his translation he used the celebrated Eadfrith Old Latin manuscript called the Lindisfarne Gospels, now in the British Museum, the translation also being interlined. Not to speak of several relatively unimportant other translations of the Gospels during the tenth and eleventh centuries, manuscripts that were not interlined in the Latin text, an attempt at translation on a larger scale was made about the close of the tenth century, by Ælfric, whose Anglo-Saxon Version included the Pentateuch and some of the other historical books of the Old Testament, as well as Job and several of the Apocryphal books. Of this translation there is a manuscript in the British Museum and one in Oxford.

Pre-Wycliffite Translations After the Norman Conquest

With the Norman Conquest in 1066, those earlier efforts at translation passed into the archives of little remembered history, and had therefore little, if any, influence upon the English Bible of later times. "Under new management" might then well have been written over the doorways of England, when, with a change of rulers within its gates, there was also a change of language from Anglo-Saxon to Anglo-Norman, and of other factors of history.

After another lull in translation activities, we note a version in the nature of a paraphrase, early in the thirteenth century, also in metrical form, but in the changed language of the new era. This was a rendering of the Gospels and Acts by the Augustinian monk Orm, and hence called *The Ormulum*, an incomplete manuscript of which is one of the rare treasures of the Bodleian Library.

But we must pass by several of these translations, among them two almost literal fourteenth century prose translations of the Psalms, and proceed to the one that marks the real beginning of the new era of Bible versions, the era that was to be far more glorious even as England's history was to be more glorious.

The Wycliffite Version

The new era of Bible translation began with the version attributed chiefly to that Morning Star of the Reformation, John Wyclif of the University of Oxford and later of Lutterworth. Appealing to the Scriptures as the only standard by which the merits of his controversy with the pope could be judged, he found it imperative, in defense of his cause, that a translation of the Bible into the vernacular be made so as to reach a far wider audience than the Latin Bible of the learned world could afford.

This translation was made from the authorized Latin Vulgate, not from the Old Latin, as was the case especially with the pre-Norman translations; and it was in the gradually developing vernacular of the time, or what might be called Middle English, not in the Anglo-Saxon of the period before

the Norman Conquest nor in the Norman-French of the conquerors. The date generally assigned to the translation in its first completed form is 1382, or two years before Wyclif's death. And the supposition is that by 1388, or four years after Wyclif's death, a revision or retranslation, based upon better manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate and improved in many renderings, was completed by Purvey, assisted at first by Wyclif himself and later by other Wycliffite associates. This improved Version soon supplanted the earlier form of 1382. Indeed, the almost conclusive evidence now is that, although Wyclif was the real promoter and his work the impelling cause, he had perhaps but little part in the actual translation of even the 1382 Version of the Old Testament, which seems to have been the work for the most part of Nicholas of Hereford, Wyclif's follower and fellow-worker in efforts at reform in the Church of England. However, from the testimony of others, and from the text of the Version itself, the translation of the New Testament and of at least the closing part of the Old Testament was apparently the work of his own hands.

About 175 manuscripts, many of them incomplete, of these two forms of the so-called Wyclif Bible, have come down to our time. Therefore it must have been many times recopied and widely distributed. But, although printing was invented less than three-quarters of a century after the translation was finished, it was not put into print until nearly five centuries afterwards (1850). Although the translation does not have any critical value, many of its striking phrases, especially those of the New Testament, still live in the English Bible of our time. Indeed, through his work of translation, especially that of the New Testament, done by his own hand, and through his numerous writings, Wyclif was destined to be the father (or shall we say the grandfather?) of English prose, even as Chaucer was the father of English poetry.

The William Tyndale Version

A hundred years and more elapsed after the Wyclif translation appeared, during the earlier part of which manuscript

copies of that Version, most of them of the revised translation of 1388, were rapidly multiplied, when at last the real father of the printed English Bible was born and educated in the person of William Tyndale. Even as a student the urge seemed to be upon him to prepare for and prosecute the work of giving the Bible to the English people in their native tongue. Finding it impossible to realize his purpose in London, yea, even in all England, he went to the Continent in 1524 and resided for a while in Hamburg, and later apparently in Wittenberg under Luther's influence, where in comparative safety he worked upon his proposed translation.

Then in 1525 we find him in Cologne, where he directed the printing of his translation of the New Testament by Peter Quentell, in an edition of three thousand copies. In form it was to be a small quarto volume with a prologue and with notes in the outer margin of the text. But when the printing had gone as far as 40 leaves, or 80 pages (end of signature K), it was discovered by Cochläus, that inveterate foe of Luther and the Reformation, who appealed to the city authorities to stop the work and seize the sheets. Learning of the plot, Tyndale and his amanuensis, Roye, took three thousand sheets and fled up the River Rhine to Lutheran Worms for safety. Meanwhile the English authorities were notified about the possible importation of the book, described as a small quarto volume with "pestilent glosses" (marginal notes), Luther's New Testament in English.

Probably to avoid recognition of the book, Tyndale had the translation reprinted in Worms in the form of a small octavo volume, of about half the size of the Cologne pages, and without the marginal notes and the prologue. It had, however, a three-page "To the Reder" at the end, followed by three pages of errata. The printing was done by Peter Schoeffer the latter part of 1525. Surely the difference between this edition and the one printed at Cologne was so great that the agents at the port of entry, ignorant of what a New Testament was like, would not recognize it from the description of the Cologne edition furnished by Cochläus. The plan worked admirably, for this

edition, probably also of three thousand copies, was easily smuggled into England early in 1526, unrecognized at the port of entry. When this fact became known, a hunt for the book was started, and the copies seized were burned in London, Oxford and other places.

The Cologne edition was not likely completed at Worms, as has generally been held; but as it had apparently gone close to the end of Mark (end of signature K), copies of this unfinished edition may also have found their way to England. If so, it is possible that, in order to elude the king's agents, some of these might have been bound up with other tracts, as was the case with the only copy (now incomplete) that remains, which is found bound up with a treatise of *Œcolampadius*.

Copies of later editions were bought up by English agents on the Continent and destroyed, thus, singularly enough, furnishing the money to Tyndale and his printers to issue other editions to be smuggled into England. Under these strange circumstances thousands of copies of Tyndale's New Testament found their secret readers among the English-speaking people. And yet so thoroughly was the work of destruction eventually carried out that of the incomplete Cologne edition, with its marginal notes, only one fragment of 31 leaves or 62 pages is known to have been preserved, the celebrated Cologne fragment, now housed in the British Museum. Of the completed octavo Worms edition, only two copies, neither of them quite complete, remain.

Unlike the earlier English translations, which were made from the Latin,—which itself is a translation,—Tyndale's New Testament was based upon the original Greek. In connection with this he used other sources, such as Luther's German, the Latin Vulgate, Erasmus' Latin, etc. As a translation it was therefore much more accurate than anything attempted before. Moreover, it was phrased in such choice English as to win the admiration of English scholars ever since. Indeed, it still survives in virtually nine-tenths of the English New Testament of our day.

His program of translation including the Old Testament, five years after the appearance of his New Testament, namely, in 1530, his Pentateuch appeared from the press. The colophon states that it was "Emprented at Marlborow—by me Hans Lufft," etc. This "Hans Lufft" printing is interesting especially to Lutheran readers. Marlborow may stand for Wittenberg, to throw the inspectors off their guards. One other Old Testament book, namely, Jonah, with a lengthy prologue, appeared in 1531. Indeed, his work of translation was continued to the end of Second Chronicles; but the hand of the English Government was soon laid upon him, so that he was unable to put the same into print and to extend his translation any further. After lingering in prison in Vilvorde for nearly a year and a half, he finally died a martyr's death by strangulation and burning, October 6, 1536, for the blessings which he gave to the English people. Thus ended the career of England's greatest Bible translator, and his last words were, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes," a prayer which was then and has ever since been answered by a gracious overruling Providence. Of the influence of Luther upon Tyndale's New Testament we shall speak later on.

The Coverdale Bible

Now for some years the Luther reformatory movement on the continent had been in full swing, and much of its spirit had found its way into England, especially into the great universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Even before 1530 a demand for the Bible in the vernacular was growing rapidly, a synod of ecclesiastics having lately devoted considerable time to a consideration of that subject. Even Henry VIII was willing, during less turbulent times, to have the New Testament translated for the common people. Meanwhile the king was in controversy with the pope over his matrimonial matters, and was breaking one by one the bonds that bound England to the See of Rome. Then at the Convocation of 1534 Cranmer succeeded in having a resolution passed asking the king for an official translation of the Bible into English. Thus the way for another

translation was prepared, a translation, it was hoped, that might eventually even be authorized by royal decree.

Meanwhile, somewhere on the Continent, where he was sojourning most of the time from 1529 to 1535, Miles Coverdale, the friend of Cromwell and Thomas More, made a translation of the whole Bible into English. The presswork was done by Jacob van Meteren at Antwerp, from whom the sheets were purchased for binding and publication in England by James Nicolson of London, some copies having a new and somewhat different title page by Nicolson. As the original Van Meteren title page has it "translated out of Douche and Latyn," it was a translation largely from Luther's German and the Zurich Bible and the Latin Vulgate, and, according to his own words, with the use of two other sources. He, of course, used Tyndale's Version as far as it had gone. It already anticipated royal sanction,—which may even have been promised for it by Cromwell,—by a deferential dedication to Henry VIII in its Nicolson publication. In form it is a small folio, about twelve by nine inches.

Coverdale's influence upon later English translations is considerable, though in general more subtle (as in the remains of rhythmic beauty, etc.) than openly manifest in the bodily incorporation of extended phrases. This influence was partly direct, through the use of his translation by later translators, and partly indirect, through the parts of it incorporated into the Matthew Bible, and into the Great Bible, of which Coverdale was the principal editor.

The Matthew Bible

From Coverdale's Bible of 1535 to the so-called Matthew's Bible of 1537 is but a step. Upon the death of Tyndale, John Roger became his literary executor. With Tyndale's still unpublished manuscript translation from Joshua to Second Chronicles in his possession, he brought together Tyndale's already published translation of the New Testament, the Pentateuch and Jonah; and then to these he added most of the rest from the Coverdale Bible of 1535, with very slight changes,

and published a complete Bible in 1537 under the name Thomas Matthew. It was printed partly in Antwerp and the rest in London by Grafton and Whitchurch. Upon its title-page appeared the words, "Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lycēce." It is, moreover, dedicated to "The moost noble and gracyous Prynce Kyng Henry the eyght," to which is appended the signature, Thomas Matthew. Thomas Matthew was undoubtedly a fictitious name to conceal the real identity either of the compiler (John Roger) or perhaps of Tyndale himself. The book is a small folio, with marginal notes, of nearly fourteen by ten inches over all.

In this Bible we have therefore what purports to be the first authorized English version, and it is a strange paradox that two-thirds of it was really the work of Tyndale, who had suffered martyrdom only the preceding year for having dared to translate Scripture in the face of the opposition of king and ecclesiastical authorities.

As it contains all of Tyndale's translation, the first one to be made from the original Greek and Hebrew, it should therefore be regarded as the primary version of the English Bible. And, strangely enough, it not only carries the initials of Tyndale nearly two and a half inches high, at the end of Malachi, but it contains that arch-heretic's prologue to the Epistle to the Romans, not to speak of other objectionable features.

The Great Bible

Apparently to avoid possible trouble, upon the discovery of so unfortunate a circumstance as that referred to above, Cromwell appealed to Coverdale once more, to make another attempt at revision, although that translator's own second edition (1537) also purported to have had royal sanction. This new version was, however, based chiefly upon Matthew's Bible, in the light of improved texts of the original Hebrew and Greek, and was therefore a slightly modified continuance of Tyndale's translation.

No adequate printing outfit for so elaborate a book being found in England, the manuscript was turned over for printing

to Regnault of Paris. However, in spite of the efforts of Coverdale and the English printer, Grafton, to rush it through the press there without interference, the work was stopped by the French Inquisition. But the sheets, type, presses, and even the workmen, were brought over to London, where the book was finished. It issued from the press of Grafton and Whitchurch, London, April, 1539; and because of its size and magnificence (measuring nearly seventeen by eleven inches), it has been known as the Great Bible. Further details of this thrilling story cannot be given here.

Because of Cromwell's interest in the arrangement for its preparation, it has sometimes erroneously been called Cromwell's Bible. Almost equally erroneously has it been called Cranmer's Bible, because he wrote a preface for the second edition, which appeared early in 1540. Five more editions, making seven in all, appeared before the end of 1541. It was this Bible that gave rise to the expression "The Chained Bible," because six copies for public reading were placed in St. Paul's cathedral, as also copies were placed in other churches, all of which were chained to their lecterns.

The Taverner Bible

The first edition of another version appeared in 1539. It was made by a scholarly layman, Richard Taverner, who in 1535 translated the Augsburg Confession and the Apology into English, and published the same in time for use in connection with the framing of the Ten Articles of the English confession at the meeting of the Convocation in June, 1536. His Bible, too, was largely a revising and re-editing of Tyndale-Matthew, but it did not have much influence upon later versions.

The Whittingham New Testament

At this point of our story we shall speak briefly of an interesting translation of the New Testament alone. It was that of William Whittingham, a brother-in-law of John Calvin. It was published by Conrad Badius at Geneva in 1557, but without the name of the translator. In form it is a small 16mo., a little

over five by three inches. It has an interesting introduction by Calvin, and is Calvinistic in spirit, with some explanatory notes in the margin. It was largely a revision of Tyndale's translation in the light of the original Greek and the later English translations, and is noted for its general accuracy. It was the first translation to be printed in Roman type and with the text divided into verses after the pattern set forth first by Robert Stephens in his Greek-Latin Testament of 1551. It also was the first one to introduce italics for words lacking in the original language, to complete the sense in English. It was never reprinted and is therefore a book of great rarity. But it became the basis of the New Testament in the Genevan Bible of 1560, of which we shall speak next. This New Testament, must therefore not be confounded with that which is found in the Bible of 1560.

The Genevan Version

Of far greater importance than either the Great Bible or Taverner's, was the Genevan Version of 1560. This was made in Geneva by English refugees from Bloody Mary's persecution. It was made apparently in close association with John Calvin, as its Calvinistic marginal notes indicate. In making the translation, the Great Bible was used as a basis for the Old Testament, and Whittingham's Testament for the New Testament, which itself was based upon Tyndale's Version, as already stated. Hence it, too, was a further carrying forward of the work of Tyndale. It was meant for the common people, and the common people read it gladly for nearly a century. The English texts were, of course, used in connection with the texts of the original Hebrew and Greek, with the help of Beza's and Calvin's Latin translations of the New Testament, the Vulgate Bible, and other textual sources. It is a small quarto volume, almost ten by seven inches over all. It appeared "At Geneva. Printed by Rovland Hall. M.D.LX."

This was the first complete English Bible to be divided into verses, and the first one to be printed in Roman type and to use italics for omitted words in the original. It is the so-called *Breeches Bible*, because in Genesis 3: 7 the translation reads,

“and they sewed fig tre leaues together, and made themselues breeches” (instead of aprons).

The Bishops' Bible

But of the making of Bibles there seemed to be no end. While the Genevan Version was quickly winning its way into the hearts of English readers, another version was being planned (1563-64) by Archbishop Matthew Parker of Canterbury. It was therefore a version that grew out of the Church itself; and it was largely the work of a group of Bishops, under the direction of Parker. It appeared from the press of Richard Jugge, London, 1568, in a ponderous volume, sixteen by twelve inches. Much of the Genevan version was carried over into it, and it therefore still further propagated the translation and phrasing of Tyndale. With the last edition of it in 1606, it went out of print.

The Roman Catholic Douáy Version

Now that the Bible in the vernacular had received the full endorsement and support of both the state and the Church,—the Church which was now wholly separated from Rome,—it was considered expedient, and indeed almost imperative, on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, to put forth its own translation. This was also part of a far-reaching plan to win England back to Romanism. At the instigation of William Allen, head of the newly established Roman Catholic College at Douáy, a translation more in harmony with Catholic teaching was made by exiles from England,—Gregory Martin and a small group of other Catholic scholars. But instead of making the translation from the original Hebrew and Greek, they made it from the official Latin Vulgate. And in spite of their intention to counteract the work of Tyndale and his successors, they profited much by the translations of those men. The New Testament, in quarto form, about eight and a half by six and a half inches, appeared from the press in Rheims in 1582; but due to the lack of funds, the Old Testament was not published till 1609-10. This Version, which was otherwise stamped with considerable scholarship, was so full of Latinisms, and other

elements that needed improvement, that it was thoroughly revised by Bishop Challoner, 1749-52. And yet, in spite of its shortcomings, at least the New Testament of 1582, as to many words and phrases, had its influence upon King James' Version.

*The Authorized, or King James', Version**

The generation of successive English Bibles had now proceeded on a generally ascending scale till it was about ready to bring forth the consummate flower of them all. This was to come to pass in that great classic of King's English undefiled, the Authorized Version, or King James' Version, of 1611. It is a wonderful story with which we are here concerned, but we can give only a very brief outline of it.

At a conference held at Hampton Court the middle of January, 1604, a reference by Dr. Reynolds to certain mistranslations in current Bibles led King James to express a wish for the making, by eminent scholars of Cambridge and Oxford, of a more uniform translation of the Bible, without any controversial notes. This suggestion was put into operation between two and three years afterward, in the appointment of a committee of fifty-four eminent men, divided into six companies of nine men each, to make such a translation. Of these men only forty-seven, however, were actually engaged in the work of translation. The completed work in a massive folio volume, seventeen by twelve inches, issued from the press of Robert Barker, London, 1611. Of its several almost simultaneous editions, and of its multiplication in almost numberless later editions, we cannot speak, although the story is one of the most interesting in the history of literature and bibliography. The copies at that time sold for what today would be equivalent to about \$200.00 of our money.

The merits of the translation at once commended the version to the English people, although for some years after its first appearance it had a gradually diminishing rival in the Genevan

*For the propriety of applying these titles to the Version of 1611 see the writer's article in "The Biblical World," October, 1913. Reprinted in "The Lutheran Church Review," January and April, 1914.

Version, which finally, however, went out of print in 1634, or thirty-three years later. In this Version,—which again was based upon the original languages, with a careful comparison with other versions, Latin, French, German, Italian, Spanish, not to speak of all the previous English versions, namely, Wyclif's and those from Tyndale's down to the Roman Catholic Douáy,—we have the accumulated fruitage of all previous efforts in the light of the more critical scholarship of that later day. Its great appeal lies largely in its simplicity and rhythmic beauty, nine-tenths of the translation being expressed in Saxon words. And in it and throughout it lives the spirit of Tyndale and his marvelous renderings, as these had come down through the Coverdale Bible, the Matthew Bible, the Taverner Bible, the Great Bible, the Whittingham New Testament, the Genevan Bible, the Bishops' Bible, and the Roman Catholic Douáy Bible. A wonderful literary pedigree, running through almost a century of Bible translations, and a wonderful offspring in the Bible of 1611! And that resultant Bible of 1611, with but several later attempts at retranslation, such as those of Purner (1764), Blayney (1769), *et al.*, has ever since stood unique in English theology and English literature.

The Revised Version and Other Recent Versions

Only within recent years did a textually more accurate, even if less rhythmic, version than the one of 1611 appear in the so-called Revised Version of 1881-1885. Of this Revised Version, and of its American recension of 1901, called the American Standard Revised Version, it can truthfully be said that in it we have textually perhaps the most correct translation in any language of modern times. This is due largely to the discovery and actual use of many older and better manuscripts, wholly unknown or inaccessible in King James' time, and to the accumulation of the results of nearly three hundred years of critical scholarship. As this Version is so well known to our readers, we shall not further discuss it.

The consideration of other modern translations, such as

those of Moffatt, Smith-Goodspeed, the 1911 Bible, *et al.*, does not come within the scope of this chapter. But this chapter would be incomplete if it did not briefly set forth something of the influence that was exerted upon the English Bible by the German Bible of that prince of all Bible translators, Martin Luther. Indeed, that constitutes a part of the heading of this chapter.

To go into any details on so vast a subject, to trace the influence of Luther's translation through all the successive English versions, in the brief space at our disposal, would manifestly be impossible. But we believe that some idea of that influence upon even the later English Bibles, from Coverdale's down to our own Authorized and Revised Versions, can be gained if we indicate some of the influence of Luther's translation upon that of Tyndale's even though that influence is more and more indirect and diminishing in the successive versions. For this we shall use chiefly the unfinished Cologne edition of 1525, as it has come down to us in the fragment (Matt. 1—22: 12), preserved in the British Museum, of which we have already spoken.

*Influence of Luther's Translation Upon Tyndale's
Version and Upon Later English Versions*

Although the extent to which William Tyndale in his English translation was dependent upon Luther's translation, used to be a point of much controversy, it is no longer a matter of doubt or uncertainty.

From a careful collation of the text of Tyndale's Cologne Fragment with the text of Luther's first three editions, and with the Greek and other texts, it is found that Tyndale used Luther's translation with great freedom, especially in the rendering of the Greek idioms, in which he seems merely to be translating Luther and comparing his text with the Greek. And, of course, Tyndale used all the first three editions of Luther's Testament, the two of 1522 and the folio edition of 1524. Indeed, not only in the Cologne Fragment was Tyndale dependent upon Luther, but also in his small octavo Worms edition of 1525 is that

dependence manifest, as well as in later editions and in his translation of the parts of the Old Testament that he made later on. This manifestly free use of Luther's translation by Tyndale incidentally indicates also his unbounded confidence in Luther as the great master translator and expositor.

Then, too, of the marginal notes in the Cologne Fragment (Matt. 1—22: 12) of Tyndale's first edition of 1525, virtually two-thirds are translations of Luther's marginal notes. All the parallel references in the inner margin of the text of that Cologne Fragment were taken from Luther. Moreover, the arrangement of the text upon the printed page, the particular division of that text into the paragraphs, and the headings, minutely follow Luther's New Testament. So does even the list of the books of the New Testament, following the "Prologue" (Preface), with the order and the numbering of the books, while two entire pages of Tyndale's "Prologue" itself are a literal translation of what constitutes over one-half of Luther's "Vorrhede." Thus, as Luther in his list of books numbers the books down to 23, or 3 John, and leaves Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation without numbers, so does Tyndale, the only difference being that while Luther used Arabic numbers, Tyndale uses Roman numerals.*

Moreover, through Tyndale's version, as far as it had appeared, as also through Coverdale's own direct use of Luther's translation, the influence of Luther passed into Coverdale's complete English Bible of 1535; and through Coverdale's Bible and later versions, and also through further direct use, Luther's Version in a measure influenced all the succeeding English versions down to the Authorized Version of 1611 and was therefore not without its influence upon our more recent Revised Version of 1881-85 and 1901.

Of the influence of Luther's translation upon other translations we have spoken briefly in another chapter.

L. Franklin Gruber.

*For further details see the author's "The First English New Testament and Luther," 1928. Also, "The Truth about Tyndale's New Testament," "Lutheran Church Review," October, 1916, and April-May, 1917.

CHAPTER XX

THE BIBLE AND MISSIONS

I HAVE been asked to discuss the place of the Bible in mission work. A generation ago such a discussion would have been judged as being beside the point. There was in those days only one place assigned to the Bible in foreign missionary work, and that one place was *central* and *fundamental*. Personally I belong to that generation.

We believe Jesus Christ himself gave that place to the Word in this enterprise we call missions. When He sent out His first group of missionaries He gave them the means whereby the work was to be done. It was by preaching the Gospel. They were to be witnesses and ministers of the Word. It ought to be clear to every fair-minded reader that the passages in Matt. 28: 18-20; Mark 16:15; Luke 24:47-48, and John 20:21, deal with the extension of the kingdom and by what means it was to be realized. The work of foreign missions is simply unthinkable without the Word of God. By that Word the heathen is called; by it he is drawn toward the living God, and by it the new Life is created in his heart. The Apostle Paul was absolutely sure of the place of the Gospel in *his* work. "How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." Rom. 10: 14, 17.

The Word of God is at once the *credential* of the missionary, his *message* and his abiding joy. Without it he would have no authority, no message and certainly no joy. The reason the feet of the messengers are called beautiful upon the mountains is the message of good tidings which they bring. (Isaiah 52: 7.) In the face of all this,—and much more that might be said,—how is it possible to assign to the Bible any place in mission work except the *central* and *fundamental*?

Paul, the missionary, would have the Christians at Thessa-

lonica "pray that the word of the Lord might have *free course*." 2 Thess. 3: 1. The victorious march of the Gospel down through the ages has been a glorious realization of that prayer. The Word of God has been *running* ever since, hesitatingly at times, bounding joyfully onward at other times, from nation to nation, from continent to continent, filling the earth with the knowledge of Jehovah. Isaiah 11: 9.

It has often happened, as it happened to Paul, that the missionary may be in bonds and prison, but the Word of God is not bound. 2 Tim. 2: 9. The messenger might be stopped, might be slain, but the message could not be stopped. Even today the missionary may be said to be held in bondage, by race prejudice, hatred of foreigners, and kindred fetters. There are still countries, like Afghanistan, from which the human agent of the Gospel is excluded. But the Bible can enter when the doors are closed to the missionary. Of late years an intense nationalism has possessed the colored races, as a result of which the white missionary is often regarded with suspicion. But the Bible is perfectly neutral, and is, at the same time, national and international. A great and cruel war may force all the missionaries of a country to leave or be taken into prison camps, but that same war has to aid in the distribution and circulation of the Bibles.

The Bible rises above all race differences. White, yellow, black and brown have one heart, and to that one heart the Bible speaks, and finds a ready response. The glorious march of the Bible is one of the most outstanding miracles of modern times. In its original home, Asia, it is now literally proclaimed from the "roof of the world." It runs through every valley, it is found on the hillsides and the plains. In China it penetrates the walled cities, the countless villages and hamlets. The number of volumes of the Scriptures scattered over these lands passes well over the five million mark. And Japan is ahead of all other lands in the number of Scriptures purchased these last years. Other continents tell the same story. At the time of the Klondike gold-rush, the prospectors found the Indians of that far north country to be civilized and gentle. Why? Because the

Bible had been introduced to them in their own Tukulh language and made all things new.

Take a look at the Dark Continent. The Sacred Book is penetrating its jungles and veldts, its forests and valleys to the very heart of the continent, spreading light, creating life everywhere. There is no country in Latin America, there are no groups of islands, where the printed page of the Gospel is unknown.

The famous boast of the Jesuit missionaries may well be applied to the *free course* of the Gospel in modern times: *Nulla regio terrae quae non plena nostrae laboris.*

In 1800 only one-fifth of the human family had the Bible; now three-fourths have it in a language they can understand.

The *influence* of the Bible. To discuss this phase of it would require the combined volumes of all Church histories, all general histories, and all the biographies of every Christian. So we might as well say that *its influence cannot be computed*. It has recreated nations and individuals. It has changed the desert into a valley of plenty; changed savages into civilized men; lifted womanhood into her rightful place at the side of man; eliminated horrible customs and human slavery; made life worth living. Best of all it has turned millions of lost and condemned sinners from darkness to light, from the bondage of death to the life which is in Christ Jesus. This perfectly revolutionary change has been made possible by the Bible in the vernacular.

And this brings us to the subject of *Bible translation*. The experience of missions plainly teaches that the way to a man's heart is through his mother-tongue. Therefore the missionary must make it possible for men to hear God's message in their native speech.

Hebrew and Greek were the original speech of the Old and New Testaments respectively. The prophets spoke to the people in the Hebrew tongue; the Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ and the message of His Apostles were written in Greek. But both these languages were destined to become "dead," or nearly so. If the divine Revelation as we have it in these two Testaments

ments is to become intelligible to mankind in general, it would, of course, have to be translated into the various tongues.

This was recognized by a few men even in the Middle Ages, about the time when Greek and Hebrew passed off the stage.

Ulphilas, the Apostle to the Goths, invented an alphabet for them and translated most of the Bible into their language. In the 9th century, two Greeks of Thessalonica, Methodius and Cyril, were sent to the Bohemians and Moravians. They gave the peoples of those lands the Bible in the vernacular. In the 14th century portions of the Bible were translated into Arabic by Raymond Lull for the benefit of the Moslems. Four hundred years ago Tyndale translated the Scriptures into English. And it fell to the blessed task of Martin Luther to give the Bible to the German people.

In the years following the Reformation and previous to the founding of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804, the Bible was translated into most of the European languages, also a few tongues, foreign to Europe. In Greenland, for instance, a translation had been made into Eskimo by Lutheran missionaries. A tribe of Indians on the east coast of North America rejoiced in the possession of parts of the Bible in their own speech.

It has been said,—and with some appearance of reason,—that the Lutheran Missions have not produced very many translations. It is with considerable satisfaction we point to *Ziegenbalg*, the *first Protestant* missionary to India. Not only the first Protestant missionary, but also the *first Lutheran* missionary to that country. He translated the entire Bible into Tamil. And thus for the first time in the history of India her people had the Word of God in one of their vernaculars.

Although the Bible deals with the deepest truths, yet it is the most translatable book there is, and it is of all books the one that suffers least in translation. And still it is a stupendous and very difficult task. We recall Luther's complaint about how difficult it was to make the Hebrew prophets speak German. Modern translators generally agree that his task was easier than theirs.

There is the problem of an alphabet, the reduction to writing of a strange speech, the painstaking search for their rules of construction, collecting a sufficient vocabulary. Speaking of alphabets, I am reminded of an incident that happened when David Jones came to the King of Madagascar in 1820. Some Moslem traders had just come to his court and showed him the Arabic alphabet. He thought it would be a fine thing to reduce the language of his island kingdom to a written speech, and was at the point of adopting the Arabic alphabet, when Jones presented a sample of the Roman system. This seemed a much simpler form, and it was approved. How vastly more difficult the missionary task would have been had Jones come a few days later!

Then again, there is the difficulty of adjusting the translation to the cultural levels. It must strike a happy medium between the speech of the lower strata of the people and that of the more cultured classes, so as to serve all.

The *problem of words* is one of the more serious difficulties. The native tongues have a soul of their own, and a mode of thought foreign to the European. For these thoughts they have a multitude of expressions,—some synonymous, others with fine shades of distinctions. For other thoughts, foreign to the native, there are no words in their language. Many, very many of the thoughts of God revealed to us in the Bible are absolutely unknown and foreign to the average man in pagan lands. The question then would be, how may the translator carry the thoughts of the Bible into a language where there are no equivalent expressions? What would the expression "Behold the Lamb of God" convey to a Greenlander, where sheep are unknown? Would it be better to render it, "the little seal-cub of God," as some have suggested? In Madagascar people have no conception of snow. What does Isaiah 1: 18 really mean to a Malagasy? When is the introduction of a foreign word justified? It is justified only when the native language lacks the equivalent, as in the case when the idea itself is strange. In such cases there should be a certain license for using paraphrasing instead. Again I am reminded of the Malagasy language. In the

Bible and the Creed, the English word "virgin" is used. To a missionary acquainted with the moral condition of the natives the reason for the use of this word is perfectly obvious.

Missionaries of today will generally agree that a *literal* translation is all but useless. A version rendering noun for noun, verb for verb, does not mean a thing to the ordinary native. The entire sentence must be recast, and paraphrasing resorted to in order to save the sense.

We have but to glance at the grammar systems of the pagan languages to note how much they differ from the languages of Europe. They reflect nice distinctions which do not occur to us. Thus for instance: whether the man alluded to is present or absent, whether the persons addressed are included or excluded from the "we" of the speakers.

In some of these languages we find a great variety of plural forms, verbal suffixes, all very definite in their sense.

For these reasons it is well to go slow in attempting the translation of the Holy Book into a strange language. The young missionary is apt to start the work before he is sufficiently well versed in the native speech, and,—what is just as essential to a good translation,—in the religious thinking of the native.

Finally, there is the *staggering number of vernaculars*. Just think! India alone has 137 distinct written languages. In Africa we find 523 separate languages, besides nearly as many dialects.

How to undertake the translation of the Bible into these languages and how to finance the printing and distribution of the Bible is a task absolutely beyond the means of the missionary societies. What then has been done, and by whom, to give the peoples of the earth the Word of God in their own tongue? The Lord Himself found a way. When the task proved too heavy for the ordinary mission society, He called into being an activity which, under God, has proved to be one of the greatest missionary enterprises of all times. I refer to the *Bible Societies*.

Several attempts, on a small scale, had been made to promote the cause of Bible societies on the European Continent,

with but little success. The real pioneer society in this work is the British and Foreign Bible Society of 1804. And it is still by far the most important one. In the first fifty years of its existence it circulated 28 millions of Bibles, New Testaments, or smaller portions of Holy Writ. Most of this huge output would naturally be distributed among the white people.

Then began the demands of the foreign fields, and the circulation in the next fifty years jumped from 28 millions to 159 millions of copies. Since that time (1904) the annual average has been well above eight million copies.

There are three other very important Bible societies: the American Bible Society, founded in 1816; the National Bible Society of Scotland, since 1861, and the Netherland Bible Society. It is the good fortune of these Bible societies to be well supplied with all the funds necessary for their great task. The best linguists on the various fields are set apart for special investigation in revising former versions and undertaking new translations. All this is financed by the Bible societies.

It is estimated that the total number of volumes, either the entire Bible or parts of it, published by all the various societies or printing houses, reaches the enormous aggregate of 855 millions in 936 languages. The details are as follows: The Bible has been printed in 172 languages; the New Testament in 185 more; smaller portions consisting of at least one book in 475, less than one book in 106 languages.

Reading these figures we cannot but be reminded of that vision of the prophet Ezekiel in the 47th chapter. A small rivulet is seen starting from beneath the altar in the holy Temple of God. The prophet notes how the stream grew in volume as it flowed forth into the open country on its way to the ocean, how it became a mighty river of healing water, bringing health and blessing to every living thing in the great sea!

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CHAPTER XXI

BIBLE SOCIETIES

The First Bible Society

THE first modern Bible society was founded in 1710, at Halle, Germany, by Baron Karl Hildebrand von Canstein, an ex-lawyer and soldier, who, converted to Pietism, wished to spend his latter days in Bible study and philanthropic work. He wrote a Harmony of the Gospels, invented a method of cheap printing, and founded the Canstein Bible Institute with the object of printing and distributing the Word of God at low cost. He sold the New Testament at first for four cents, the Bible for twelve cents. From 1710 to 1776 the Canstein Society disposed of 4,383,265 Bibles and 1,337,056 New Testaments. About 100,000 were printed in Lusatian, Wendish, Bohemian, Polish and Lithuanian, the rest in German.

The British and Foreign Bible Society

The largest, most productive and most influential Bible society is the British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in London in 1804. Someone at a meeting of the Religious Tract Society in 1802 had suggested that a Bible society be organized for Wales. Then Joseph Hughes, one of the secretaries, said: "And, if for Wales, why not for the whole world?" So the B. F. B. S., as it is often called, was founded to provide the Bible for all lands. Its output has been as great as that of all other Bible societies together. From 1804 to 1833 it published the Bible in 149 of the 183 languages into which it has been rendered; the New Testament into 163 of the 195 additional tongues into which the New Testament has been translated; and smaller portions of the Bible into 355 in addition to the 149 for the Bible and the 163 for the New Testament, making a total of 667 languages for this society. To Africa it sent 233 translations; to Asia, 204; to Europe, 91; to North America, 32; to Oceania, 92; to South America, 15; total, 667. The

B. F. B. S. during these 129 years issued a total of 442,471,067 Scriptures, of which 76,052,665 were Bibles, 111,781,499 were New Testaments, and 254,636,903 were smaller portions. This sum includes 95 polyglots numbering 5,796,970 copies.

Other Bible Societies

A number of other Bible societies sprung up in the wake of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The B. F. B. S. was organized on March 8, 1804. On May 10, the same year, the Nuremberg Bible Society was founded in Bavaria, by the merchant Kiesling. In 1806 it was shifted to Basel, where it took the name Basel Bible Society.

The next Bible society to be organized was a Roman Catholic one, the Ratisbon (Regensburg) Bible Society, dating from 1805. The founder of this society, Dr. Wittmann, a Catholic priest, had expressed his joy at the establishment of the B. F. B. S., and organized the Ratisbon, so that his own people might read the Bible in good translations. He himself made such a translation. His Church, however, frowned on his enterprise and suppressed the Ratisbon by papal bull in 1817 after it had printed a half million New Testaments. The papal encyclical of 1824 (Leo XII) condemned Bible societies as, next to Indifferentism, the greatest foe of the time. This condemnation was repeated by Pius VIII in 1829, Gregory XVI in 1844, and Pius IX in 1846. Pius XI has, however, characterized Bible societies within the Roman Church as a Biblical revival.

Space does not permit a full list of Bible societies. Some of the more important early societies are as follows: In 1806 the Berlin Bible Society was organized, also the Hibernian; in 1809, the Edinburgh; in 1811, the Hungarian; in 1812, the Finnish, the Glasgow, the Prussian; in 1813, the Saint Petersburg, the Russian, the Württemberg; in 1814, the Berg, the Danish, the Hamburg-Altoona, the Hanover, the Saxon, the Swedish; in 1815, the Netherlands; in 1816, the American, the Norwegian, the Waldensian; in 1817, the Malta; in 1818, the Protestant of Paris; in 1819, the Ionian of Corfu. Also many others: the Icelandic, the Moscow, the Riga, the Bremen, the

Breslau, the Königsberg, the Schleswig-Holstein, etc. The Berlin became a part of the Prussian in 1814; the Saint Petersburg merged with the Russian in 1816 and was suppressed in 1826. The Edinburgh and the Glasgow merged in 1861, and since then has been called the National Society of Scotland.

An American Lutheran Bible Society flourished for a season under the presidency of the Rev. J. R. Lauritzen of Knoxville, Tenn. It made and published a translation of the Gospels in English and also some other portions of the New Testament.

Some Bible Society Statistics

County	Society	Output 1913	Output 1933
United States.....	American Bible Society.....	5,251,176	8,067,156
Great Britain.....	British and Foreign B. S.....	7,899,562	10,552,284
Great Britain.....	Scripture Gift Mission.....	5,748,293	1,666,018
Great Britain.....	Trinitarian Bible Society.....	344,165	?
Great Britain.....	National B. S., Scotland.....	2,762,616	3,942,241
English and American Bible Societies.....		22,005,812	24,227,699
Belgium	Belgium Bible Society.....	126,402	?
Denmark	Danish Bible Society.....	57,000	55,348
Finland	Finnish Bible Society.....	2,422	?
France	Bible Society of France.....	50,908	5,814
France	Protestant B. S. of Paris.....	6,879	7,016
Germany	Baden B. S., Karlsruhe.....	2	19,521
Germany	Bavarian Bible Society.....	11,123	11,560
Germany	Berg B. S., Elberfeld.....	117,437	74,270
Germany	Canstein Bible Institute.....	35,208	?
Germany	Prussian Bible Society.....	207,746	107,313
Germany	Saxony Bible Society.....	61,478	23,291
Germany	Württemberg Bible Society....	621,775	592,044
Holland	Netherlands Bible Society.....	85,757	123,826
Norway	Norwegian Bible Society.....	83,643	65,598
Russia	Russian Evang. Bible Society..	22,219	?
Sweden	Swedish Bible Society.....	12,255	25,098
Switzerland	Basel Bible Society.....	28,344	?
Other Bible Societies.....		1,540,596	1,110,699

Other Bible Publishers

The B. F. B. S. maintains a Bible library. On March 31, 1933, this library had 18,720 volumes in 937 languages, each and every one a copy of Holy Writ. At the end of the first

100 years of the society's activity it had 9,849 volumes and published a catalog of them. They then represented 610 languages. More than 5,000 men and women had labored to make the translations; over 1,000 publishers. London ranked first as the place of publication with respect to the number of translations published there. Oxford was number 2; Paris, 3; Amsterdam, 4; Cambridge, 5; and after that, in descending order, a long list of towns, among which were: Leipzig, Basel, New York, Berlin, Edinburgh, Vienna, Calcutta, Shanghai, Geneva, Leningrad (Saint Petersburg), Antwerp, Constantinople, Leyden, Serampore, Stockholm, Venice, Cologne, Copenhagen, Dublin, Frankfurt, Lyons, Madrid, Nuremberg, Rome, Oslo (Christiania). The B.F.B.S. had sponsored the greatest number of translations. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge stood second with 75 languages to its credit. The American Bible Society had 73; the National Bible Society of Scotland had 31; the Russian Bible Society, 25; the American Board of Foreign Missions, 19; the Church Mission Society, 19; the Netherlands Mission Society, 17; the American Baptist Mission Union, 16; the American and Foreign Mission Society, 16; the Melanesian Society, 14; the Trinitarian Bible Society, 12; the Bible Translation Society, 10. All the rest had less than 10 each to their credit.

The analysis of this "Historical Catalogue" shows that the Bible societies are not alone in the translating and printing of the Bible. Most of the work of translating the Bible into the languages of Europe has been done by theological professors; most of the translations on the mission fields has been done by missionaries, often with the help of native scholars.

An examination of a number of private, college and public library collections of Bible leads to the same result, namely, that there are a great number and variety of church and private publishers of the Scriptures in addition to the Bible societies.

Relative Output of Bible Societies and Other Publishers

During the 15th century (1456-1500) the Bible was issued in 19 languages; during the 16th century, in 29 languages;

the 17th, 14 languages; the 18th, 20; the 19th, 519; and in the years 1901-1933, 411 languages. A total of 1,012, not counting the 85 dialect translations in French in 1831; and the 100 or more dialect translations of India given in the "Linguistic Survey of India."

During the first 100 years of printing (1456-1556) the Bible appeared in 38 languages; the second 100 years, in 17 languages; the third 100 years, 18; the fourth 100 years, 183; and the fifth 100 years (1856-1956), at the present pace, it will reach 1,000 languages.

A careful estimate of the actual number of Scriptures that have been issued since the invention of printing is as follows: 2,000,000,000, divided equally between the Bible societies and other publishers. About 20 per cent, or 400,000,000, of the grand total consisted of Bibles; 30 per cent, or 600,000,000, consisted of New Testaments; and 50 per cent, 1,000,000,000, of portions of the Bible.

The most popular units in order of their frequency of translation and publication are: 1, New Testament; 2, Matthew; 3, Mark; 4, Luke; 5, John; 6, Psalms; 7, Bible; 8, Genesis; and 9, Old Testament.

The Problem of Script

In the printing of the 1,000 translations of the Scriptures a great number of scripts have been employed. R. Kilgour, in his "The Gospel in Many Lands," prints specimens of 665 languages, in which not less than 68 kinds of script are used,—24 Japhetic, 12 Semitic and 32 Hamitic. Greatest of all the scripts is the Roman, used by 75 per cent of the languages. It is making inroads into many new fields. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who had published portions of the Bible in 83 languages and dialects, held that the greatest difficulty in learning a language was the script, and that he could learn any language in a short time if written in the Roman script. It is sincerely to be hoped that Bible societies and other publishers will use this script more and more. Some day, perhaps, someone will invent a more perfect alphabet, simpler and more

stenographic, one that can become as universal as the notes in music. Such a step will further the great task of teaching all nations the Word of God.

The Great Task

The chief, and usually the sole aim of Bible societies is the wider circulation of Holy Scriptures, printed without note or comment. The Bible output is amazingly great. The Bible is always the best seller. And yet, the output is dishearteningly small in the light of what it should be. About 25,000,000 copies of Scripture are issued yearly by the Bible societies; as much perhaps is published by other publishers. As many people as that are born into the world each year. Since 1456 some 2,000,000,000 copies of the Bible or some portion of it have been printed. The present world population is 2,000,000,000, and some 10,000,000,000 souls have come into the world and have passed out again since printing was invented. There never have been Bibles enough so that each one might own at least one copy. So far the English race has had every fourth copy of the Bible or some portion of it in the English language; the Teutonic peoples have had every second copy in their languages. The work of the Bible societies has barely begun.

When Luther came back from the Wartburg he organized a Bible translating group, consisting of his associates at the University of Wittenberg and a few others. These met weekly to discuss Luther's German translation. The work of this discussion group had immense value. In like manner the Bible societies have been hard working translating and promoting groups. The American Lutheran Bible Society has a place for real service, and should be set on foot again to carry on the work begun by Luther.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE BIBLE IN A THOUSAND TONGUES

The Bible Account

MANKIND came originally from one stock (Acts 17: 26) and spake one language (Gen. 11: 1, 6). Adam was the first father of the race (Gen. 5); Noah, the second (Gen. 9). The many languages started with the Confusion of Tongues at Babel (Gen. 11: 6-8). The many races started with the dispersion of the families of the sons of Noah. "By these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood (Gen. 9: 32)."

The Bible does not concern itself much with the races and languages of the earth. It leaves such questions to ethnology, anthropology and philology. The Bible is a story of the Chosen People and mentions other races and languages only when they come into contact with the Israelites and the Jews. It does tell us this much, that Noah had three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth; that Shem had five sons, Ham had four, and Japheth had seven. It tells how the speech was confused and the families scattered. As the story of Israel proceeds from Genesis to Revelation, more than 200 peoples,—empires, nations, tribes, families,—come into view. Of the 8,000 and more references to peoples over 60 per cent apply to the Chosen People as a whole or to the Twelve Tribes individually; about 16 per cent is devoted to the other Semitics; about 20 per cent to the Hamitics; and barely two per cent to the Japhetics. The Bible is the oldest and most trustworthy account of the rise of languages and races.

The Present Situation

The present situation is, that the world is full of races and languages. The whole world is a Babel. Mankind is like a mighty tree. It grows larger year after year. It sprouts new branches and twigs and leaves as time goes on. Some branches die and fall away. So, some races and languages disappear,

but many more new ones spring forth. Finck has enumerated 2,176 languages; Meillet and Cohen, 6,760. The "Linguistic Survey of India" records with illustrations 872 languages in that country alone. Of course, some of them are dialects. Just what the distinction between language and dialect is, is not established. In general, it is safe to say that a language tends to break up into dialects. A dialect is spoken by a smaller group of people and is limited to a locality or class. A language is more of a standard form of speech, is more artificial, literary and subject to rule. Every standard, literary language has at some time been a dialect, and will, in spite of grammars, dictionaries, and every other effort to the contrary, develop new dialects. So the language situation gets more complicated with the passing years. In the same way new racial types are developed. Man reproduces his own kind, but children are different from their parents. No two people, no two leaves on a tree, are exactly alike. Race mixture is common. White and Negro cross and beget a Mulatto offspring. The Mulatto offspring is intermediate between those of the parents. If the Mulatto crosses with a White the offspring is called Quadroon and has new intermediate grades of complexion, etc. If a Mulatto and a Negro intermarry the children revert back to the Negro type and are called Sambo. The whole process is governed by biologic law. In the midst of the great confusion, then, it is possible to classify the trends.

Need of Classification

Classification is one of the essentials of normal thinking and must be applied to the question of races and languages as well as to plants and books. It aims to arrange ideas in the best possible way according to some principle of common description, in order to save time and energy in their mastery. It equips a man with seven-league boots, with the wings of an eagle.

Difficulties in Classification

There are difficulties in classifying. Due to difference in point of view, the inadequacy of knowledge, the craving for

a simple formula, the evolutionary prejudice and other obstacles, it does not seem possible to make a classification that is in every respect perfect or satisfactory to all. Still, any sort of classification can contain elements of value. The Cutter Classification of Books is of great value, as are the Dewey Decimal Classification and the Library of Congress System,—they all have advantages and disadvantages. This is the case also with the systems that have been applied to race and language.

Examples of Classification

As to race, the most common classification is that of color. Blumenbach used this color principle in 1775 and distinguished five colors,—white, black, brown, yellow and red. Linne reduced this number to four—white, black, yellow and red. Quatrefages, Dieserud and Lydeker maintain that there are only three colors,—white, black and yellow. Haeckel, Huxley, Deniker and F. Müller make hair the determining principle, but differ in the details. Humboldt classifies races according to their language; M. Müller according to their religion; Ratzel according to their institutions; Fétis according to their music.

As to language, the morphological principle is most often used. On this principle A. Schleicher divided languages into three grand divisions: 1. Isolating (Ex.: *He is like God*), as in Chinese; 2. Agglutinative (Ex. *He is God-like*), as in Turkish; and 3. Inflectional (Ex. *He is godly*), as in English. Sweet, using the same principle, made six chief classes. Misteti has a six-fold classification, but differs from Sweet on two points. Grimm's point of view is the historical; Rask, the comparative; Wundt and Sapir, the psychological; Jespersen, the sociological. Possibly the largest work ever written on the classification of languages is that of F. Müller, whose point of view is that of the hair. W. Schmidt classifies the languages by continents: 1, Europe-North and West Asia; 2, Africa; 3, East and South Asia; 4, Austronesia and Australia; 5, North America; 6, Mexico and Central America; 7, South America. The following four are typical of the variety of classifications:

Fink

- I. Caucasian
 - 1. Indo-Germanic
 - 2. Hamito-Semitic
 - 3. Caucasian
 - 4. Dravidic
 - 5. Other
- II. Mongolian
 - 1. Austronesic
 - 2. Indo-Chinesic
 - 3. Ural-Altaic
 - 4. Arctic
 - 5. Sumeric
- III. American
 - 1. North Pacific
 - 2. North Atlantic
 - 3. Central Americanic
 - 4. Amazonic
 - 5. Pampaic
 - 6. Andes-South Pacific
- IV. Ethiopian
 - 1. African Negroic
 - 2. Ocean Negroic

Trombetti

- I. Bantu-Sudanese
- II. Hamitic-Semitic
- III. Caucasian
- IV. Indo-European
- V. Ural-Altaic
- VI. Dravido-Australian
- VII. Munda-Polynesian
- VIII. Indo-Chinese
- IX. Polar-Asiatic-American

Meillet-Cohen

- I. Indo-European
- II. Hamito-Semitic
- III. Finnic-Ugric-Samoyedic
- IV. Turkic-Mongolic-Tongusic
- V. Japanese
- VI. Korean
- VII. Ainu
- VIII. Hyperborean
- IX. Asia Minor
- X. Basque
- XI. Northern Caucasian
- XII. Southern Caucasian
- XIII. Dravidian
- XIV. Sino-Tibetan
- XV. Austronesian
- XVI. Malayo-Polynesian
- XVII. Australian
- XVIII. Bantu
- XIX. Sudan-Guinean
- XX. Bushmen-Hottentot
- XXI. American

Steenstrup

- I. Indo-European
- II. Semitic
- III. Hamitic
- IV. Mongolian
- V. Chinese
- VI. Dravidian
- VII. Japanese
- VIII. Australian
- IX. Papua-Melanesian
- X. Malay
- XI. Arctic
- XII. Indian
- XIII. Negro
- XIV. Hottentot

Another Classification

Another classification of race and language is herewith offered. It is based on the principle of descent from Noah and his sons. By this classification there are three main races and three main types of language, namely, Semitic, Hamitic and Japhetic. This classification is true to history and in line with modern grammatical investigations, which are historical. At

the same time it takes into consideration the biological characteristics which distinguish one race from another and the morphological characteristics which distinguish one language from another. Within this three-fold larger classification are divisions and subdivisions, based on similarities of some sort. For example, color marks the Negroes as a race, the Indians as another race, the Chinese as a third, and so on. Languages can be grouped into families by noting similarities of alphabets, words, sentence structure and sometimes even cultural content and script. Thus, "day" is "dæg" in Anglo-Saxon, "dag" in Danish, "dag" in Norwegian, "dagr" in Old Norse, "dagr" in Icelandic, "dag" in Swedish. It is "dar" in Old Saxon, "dags" in Gothic, "dag" in Dutch, "dag" in Flemish, "Tag" in German. These words look much alike. In many cases they are identical. Ten thousand other words could be taken from these languages to prove that they belonged to one family. "Door" is "dor" in Anglo-Saxon, "dør" in Danish, "dør" in Norwegian, "dyrr" in Old Norse, "dyr" in Icelandic, "dörr" in Swedish. It is "dura" in Old Saxon, "daur" in Gothic, "deur" in Dutch, "deur" in Flemish, "Thür" in German. "House" is "hus" in Anglo-Saxon, "huus" in Danish, "hus" in Norwegian, "hus" in Old Norse, "hus" in Icelandic, "hus" in Swedish. It is "hus" in Old Saxon, "hus" in Gothic, "huis" in Dutch, "huis" in Flemish, "Haus" in German. And so on. This group of languages is called the Teutonic family. The word for "day" in Latin is "dies" ("diurnus"). Hence, in the related languages similar words are found to mean "day." In Italian it is "giorno," in French "jour," in Spanish "dia," in Portuguese "dia," in Rumanian "di." In Ancient Greek "day" was "hemera"; in Hellenic Greek it was "hemera"; and in Modern Greek it is "hemera." These languages, then, are related. In this way language families are built up,—Teutonic, Italic, Greek. Also, Celtic, Slavic, Baltic, and others within the Japhetic division. The word for "day" in Hebrew is "yom," in Chaldee is "yom." "Door" in Hebrew is "deleth," in Chaldee is "deleth." "Father" in Hebrew is "abh," in Chaldee is "abh." "House" in Hebrew is "bayith," in Chaldee is "bayith."

Hebrew and Chaldee in these four words as written are exactly alike. Also in many other words. Naturally, they varied more in pronunciation than in writing, as all languages do. It is plain to see that they are related. In the same way it can be shown that Arabic and Syriac and Assyrian and Samaritan and Amharic are related languages, closely akin to the Hebrew and the Chaldee, and members of the Semitic division. The Hamitic languages are more varied than those of the Japhetic and Semitic divisions, and less known to us; nevertheless, they, too, can be grouped into linguistic families, whose component, individual parts differ very little from one another. Language is not the same as race, for a race may speak different languages, and different races may speak the same language. The Phœnecians were of Hamitic race, but spoke a Semitic language; the American Negroes are Hamitics and speak a Japhetic language; the Jews are Semitics and speak a number of languages not their own. In spite of the surprising ways in which race and language often diverge, the two as a rule run parallel, and they both can be classified into the same three-fold major divisions,—Japhetic, Semitic and Hamitic.

Race and Language Population

The population of the world in 1931 was 1,958,213,801, distributed by continents as follows:

No.	Continent	Population	Per Cent
1.	Africa	150,308,653	7.7
2.	Asia	980,184,026	50.1
3.	Europe	499,963,666	25.5
4.	North America	165,933,738	8.4
5.	Oceania	80,253,900	4.1
6.	South America	81,564,818	4.2
Total		1,958,213,801	100.0

The grand total in 1934 is at least 2,000,000,000.

The following is an estimate of the distribution of the population among the larger families of the human race:

Race	Population	Spoken by	Languages with Bible Translations
A. Japhetic	1,000,000,000	1,026,000,000	229
I. Hindustanic	240,000,000	240,000,000	63
II. Iranic	15,000,000	15,000,000	8
III. Anatolic	2,000,000	2,000,000	3
IV. Illyric	1,000,000	1,000,000	6
V. Hellenic	8,000,000	8,000,000	2
VI. Italic	256,000,000	256,000,000	55
VII. Celtic	30,000,000	6,000,000	9
VIII. Teutonic	250,000,000	300,000,000	66
IX. Baltic	4,000,000	4,000,000	4
X. Slavic	194,000,000	194,000,000	13
B. Semitic	45,000,000	40,000,000	23
I. Aramaic	5,000,000	5,000,000	4
II. Hebraic	15,000,000	1
III. Arabic	20,000,000	30,000,000	13
IV. Ethiopic	5,000,000	5,000,000	5
C. Hamitic	955,000,000	934,000,000	760
I. Malaysic	71,000,000	71,000,000	74
II. Australasic	5,000,000	5,000,000	122
III. Negroic	128,000,000	112,000,000	276
IV. Libyaic	14,000,000	12,000,000	34
V. Finnic	20,000,000	20,000,000	24
VI. Tartaric	56,000,000	56,000,000	24
VII. Dravidic	75,000,000	75,000,000	20
VIII. Himalayic	25,000,000	25,000,000	38
IX. Sinitic	545,000,000	544,000,000	59
X. Americanic	16,000,000	14,000,000	85
Uncertain			4
Total	2,000,000,000	2,000,000,000	1,012

In Conclusion

It is 400 years since Luther translated the Bible into his Saxon dialect, there being no standard German at the time. He did it so well that his dialect became the standard language of his people, the High German still in use wherever German is spoken. From other points of view, particularly the religious, Luther's translation of the Bible is one of the most notable events in history. The Bible is the most enlightening

and ennobling force in the world. It brings men down to the same level, it unites them, it raises them up. Luther's work is a model for all time. It is a never-ceasing inspiration. He gave an impetus to Bible translating and revising in other lands which has by no means spent its force. Today, after four centuries of Bible translating, the Bible, or portions of it, can be had in the languages of a thousand different peoples, and the work is still going on in the name of the Lord. God wills it. In Saint John's vision of the Redeemed he saw standing before the Great White Throne a great multitude, which no man could number of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues, who worshipped God and sang the new song about the Lamb Who saved them by His blood.

“God’s Word is our great heritage,
And shall be ours forever;
To spread its light from age to age
Shall be our chief endeavor.”

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